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CABINET OF NATURAL HISTORY.

PROSPECTUS.

This important division of the Cyclopædia being now in a forward state of preparation, the Editor has considered it right to lay before the Subscribers and the public the details of the plan which he has thought it advisable to adopt. As originally intended, the subject of Natural History will be comprised in about 17 volumes. It was the design of the Editor to have distributed the subjects of this series among a considerable number of eminent Naturalists, who had been prevailed on to undertake them; but it was subsequently found a matter of almost insuperable difficulty to bring so many individuals into that degree of co-operation, and that unity of design, which were deemed essential to the excellence of the performance. The execution of the series has therefore been confided to individuals more limited in number, but not less eminent in scientific reputation. By this means, the work has lately advanced so fast towards its completion that its publication will be speedily commenced, and will be continued at short and regular intervals.

The plan of the work, and the style of its execution, will be in strict accordance with the principles laid down in the original prospectus of the Cyclopædia. The object of the Editor and his associates will be, as there stated, "to present the science in a form which shall be universally intelligible; to render it attractive to the general reader, yet at the same time to inculcate sound principles; and by transfusing through the whole work a philosophic spirit, not only to stimulate the diffusion of knowledge, but to raise the tone of the public mind, and to awaken a taste for the contemplation of the works of nature."

The series will consist of Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, and Geology.

To Zoology will be devoted about fourteen volumes; this part of the work has been prepared by Mr. Swainson, with the exception of the volume on Man, which has been written by Dr. Roget. In order to render the treatises equally attractive to the general reader, and to the philosophical Zoologist, it is proposed to

Cabinet of Natural History, continued.

devote one half of each treatise to a general survey of the subject to which it is specially appropriated. In this, the leading natural divisions will be pointed out; the most remarkable facts connected with their economy, uses, and geographical distribution, will be stated; and those analogies distinctly noted, by which they are represented in other divisions of nature. The other half, will contain a systematic classification, in which the larger groups, and in most instances all the genera, will be arranged according to the natural system. Where any new facts are given, upon which important or general inferences are founded, the reader will be referred to the authorities on which they depend.

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ANALYTICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL

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OF THE

NAVAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

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LIVES OF THE ADMIRALS.

CHARLES, SECOND LORD HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM AND FIRST EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

1536—1624.



LIVES

OF

THE BRITISH ADMIRALS,

ETC.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE DEPOSITION OF RICHARD II. TO THE DEATH OF HENRY V.

Henry IV. was involved in so many troubles at home that he could not attend, for some years after his usurpation, to the pending matters of dispute with Prussia. Meantime the subjects of both countries carried on a piratical warfare, in which the English seem to have been the most successful, but also to have shown themselves the most barbarous. But the Hanse towns gradually became involved in the dispute, and the balance was then as much against the English, because the Vitalians were employed in their service, and also because the influence of their powerful and well-organised confederacy was exercised, wherever it extended, to exclude English goods, or to prevent their sale. Too many of the Hanse merchants had covertly engaged * in piracy, since

* The English ambassadors affirm, that " the doers and authors of the damages, injuries, and robberies," of which they complained, were " hired thereunto at the expenses and charges of the common societies" of the Hanse cities (Wismer and Rostok seem more especially intended); " and that the inhabitants of every household in the foresaid cities, each man, according to his ability, wittingly and purposely set forth one, two, or more men for the very same expedition wherein all and singular the foresaid trespasses were committed."—Hakluyt, i. 170.

the encouragement to it was first so rashly held out by Mecklenburg. The better part of them, however, were desirous of trading in peace; and the governments both of England and Prussia, each suffering in the diminution of their customs, assailed by the complaints of their subjects, and having, by reason of their distance from each other, and remote relations, no feelings of mutual hostility, were sincerely desirous of accommodating all differences. Accordingly, in the fifth year of Henry's reign, ambassadors from the master-general Conrad von Jungingen came to England. They arrived in July; and the intercourse between the two countries was then re-opened till the Easter following, after which it was again to be closed, unless, in the mean time, an agreement should have been concluded. Letters were sent by a merchant of Lynn, notifying this to the grand master: the injury which both parties had sustained was charged in these letters upon "pirates roving up and down the sea;" and Henry particularly requested a more free passage for his subjects to parts of Sconia, "for the providing of herrings and of other fish there."

A.D. 1403.

1404. The amicable purport of the king's letter was fully acknowledged, and answered in a correspondent spirit. But the grand master objected to open his ports before all matters were finally settled. "To this," he said, "we answer (under correction of your majesty's more deliberate counsel), that it is far more expedient for both parts to have this prohibition continued than released, until such time as satisfaction be performed on both sides unto the parties endamaged, not in words only, but actually and really in deeds, or by some course of law, or friendly composition. For there is no equal or indifferent kind of consort or trade between the impoverished party and him that is enriched, between the party which hath obtained justice and him that hath obtained none, and between the offender and the party offended; because they are not moved with like affections; for the remembrance of injuries easily stirreth up inconsiderate motions of anger. Also such a kind

of temperature or permixtion, as it were, by way of contrariety, breedeth more bitterness than sweetness, more hate than love; whereupon more grievous complaints, as well unto your highness as unto ourselves, might be occasioned. The Lord knoweth that, even now, we are too much wearied and disquieted with the importunate and instant complaints of our subjects; insomuch that we cannot, at this present, by any convenient means, release the said prohibition, before we be sufficiently informed by your majesty's ambassadors of the satisfaction of our endamaged subjects." With regard to the fishery on the coast of Sconia, he said, that, "full sore against his will," he had been compelled to send a force against the queen of Denmark and her people, but that a truce was now concluded, and that force had returned home. "Far be it from me," he added, "that our subjects, being occupied in wars, should in any sort willingly molest any strangers of other lands or nations soever, not being our professed enemies; for this should be to oppress the innocent instead of the guilty, to condemn the just for the unjust, than which nothing can be more cruel, nor a revenge of greater impiety." Well had it been for humanity if the Teutonic order had always acted with the same equity and moderation towards its neighbours as towards distant England!

Upon the receipt of these letters, the king, from his court of parliament, then held at Coventry, sent as ambassadors to Prussia a knight, a clerk, and a citizen of London, who, it is honestly admitted, went out "very slightly informed." They went, however, with the sincere intention of consenting to whatever should appear just; and the Prussian ports were presently opened after their arrival. One of the worst cases on the part of the English had occurred about the time that the grand master's letters were written: three Livonian ships had been "robbed and rifled," and above 250 of the persons on board, "of whom some were noble and other honourable personages, and the rest common merchants and

A.D. 1405.

mariners, were very barbarously drowned." It was readily promised that such goods as could be recovered should be restored, and full restitution made; and that the king would, "of his great piety, vouchsafe effectually some convenient and wholesome remedy for the souls of such persons as had thus been murdered." Punishment was not required, and seems not to have been intended, though the offenders were known*, farther than that they should be made amenable for the satisfaction that was due. Ambassadors on both parts met at Dordrecht, and a burgomaster from each of the Hanse cities of Hamburg, Bremen, Stralsund, Lubec, Gripeswold, Campen, Rostok, and Wismer; and it was not till the close of their conference that it appeared these burgomasters had "no authority of negotiating, or concluding aught at all;" they engaged, however, that procurators from their respective cities should be sent to England, with sufficient instructions and powers. The complaints on all sides were then investigated, and fairly, as it seems, adjusted. The largest demand was that of the Livonians; and it was agreed that the goods of which they had been plundered should be prized, and approved, not by any English, Prussian, or Livonian merchants, but by "some other indifferent merchants of good credit, valuing them at the true rate of merchants, to which such like merchandise would have amounted, if, at the time when they were taken, they had been

* Great part of the goods were known to be in the town of Newcastle. "One Benteld also hath the best of the said ships in his possession. Also it is reported, and thought to be true, that certain furriers of London, which will be detected in the end, have had a great part of the said goods, namely, of the furs." Good part of the cargo consisted in wax and furs, being articles which "redounded to the use and commodity of the king." The Livonian merchants valued the ships and goods at £8037 12s. 7d. which upon investigation the ambassadors reduced to £7498 13s. 10½d.

The demands made by the Hanse towns did not bear investigation so well. Hamburg claimed 9117 nobles and 20 pence, which sum was cut down to 416 nobles and 5s. The claims of the other towns were reduced in much the same proportion, allowing them still the right of establishing them, if they could; but it is evident that throughout these transactions the Prussians acted with probity, and that on the part of the Hanse towns there was first piracy, and then fraud. The final settlement with them is not stated; but the Prussians and Livonians had to receive from England the two sums of 8957 nobles, and 22,496 nobles and 6½d.; and to pay the two sums of 766 nobles and 4535.

sent to be sold at Bruges." As one means of checking piracy, it was promised, on the part of England, that in any English port or place, goods, of which there was either information or probable suspicion that they had been piratically obtained, should be seized by the governor or keepers, and kept in safe custody, "favourably to be restored to the owners when lawfully demanded; which duty, if they omitted or denied to perform, the said persons in authority should themselves make amends to the injured party." The same system was to be observed in Prussia; and either country, in case of its non-observance on the other part, might make reprisals upon the goods of the foreign merchant. The final conferences were held at the Hague, when the ambassadors were instructed to "ponder by the equal weight of diligent examination, and in the balance of justice discuss and define all and singular the grievances and damages inflicted on both parts." Henry IV. ratified the agreement thus made: "forasmuch," his letters said to the grand master, "as it hath been always our desire, and is as yet our intention, that the league of amity and the integrity of love, which hath of old time been observed between our and your subjects, may, in times to come, perpetually remain inviolable; and that your and our people may hereafter, not only for the good of our common weal, but also for the commodity and peace of both parts, according to their wonted manner, assemble themselves and enjoy the faithful and mutual conversation one of another." The payment was to be made within three years, in three equal portions, the balance, as regarded Prussia, being against England in the proportion of about six to one. The king protested that "these enquiries, in very deed, proceeded out of his consent; and as touching the request," he said, "of your ambassadors, and of the Livonians, whereby we were required to procure some wholesome remedy for the souls of certain drowned persons, as conscience and religion seemeth to

A.D. 1407.

1408.

challenge, (in regard of whom we are moved with compassion, and do, for their sakes, heartily condole their mishaps,) you are, our entire friend, of a certainty to understand, that after we shall be by your letters advertised of the number, state, and condition of the said parties drowned, we will cause suffrages of prayers, and divers other wholesome remedies, profitable for the souls of the deceased, and acceptable to God and men, religiously to be ordained and provided; upon condition, that for the souls of our drowned countrymen there be the like remedy provided by you. The Almighty grant unto yourself, and unto your whole order, that you may prosperously triumph over the enemies of Christ his cross!"*

A. D. 1400. The dispute with the Hanse towns was not so soon adjusted, nor by such amicable means. They had committed great outrages upon the English ships and residents at Bergen in Norway, in consequence of which certain of their merchants, residing at Boston, were arrested by the king's orders, and compelled to give security for reparation. This only irritated the towns, who were insolent in their strength, and seem to have presumed upon the disturbed state of England. About the time that the negotiations with Prussia were concluded to the satisfaction of both parties, some fishers from Norfolk, pursuing their calling off the coast of Norway, ran into a port, which, in the English statement, is called Wyndford, for shelter, being in fear of the king's enemies, who were then at sea in great force. Instead of finding there the safety which they expected, they were attacked by land and sea by the Hanse-men from Bergen, and about 100 of them were seized by these ruffians, tied hand and foot, and thrown into the sea. The Hansemen set England at defiance, and said, that as to the security which had been given they cared nothing, for, if it were paid, the whole amount upon their society would not be sixpence a head. They seem, however, to

* Hakluyt, i. 154—177.; Rymer (second edit.), viii. 112. 203. 334. 395. 466, 467. 601.

have been brought to terms when their shops and other property at Boston were sequestered.*

A.D. 1401.

No difficulty had been found in satisfying the people of Ostergo and Westergo, in Friseland, against whom the same kind of private and piratical hostilities † had been carried on, as with the states on the Baltic. They particularly requested that the captain of Calais might no longer send armed vessels to sail from that port against them, in aid of the count of Holland or his allies; and they complained that he openly entertained in his pay those pirates, public enemies of God and of all good merchants, who were known by the name of Likedelers. ‡

These affairs, which during their continuance must have seriously interrupted the commerce of the country, would have been much sooner terminated, had they not occurred in what the chronicler of our civil wars truly calls "the unquiet time of king Henry IV." His usurpation excited in the French court a strong feeling of abhorrence at "the injury done to an anointed king, to a crowned prince, and to the head of a realm." § The frontiers of Picardy and of the Boulognois were immediately provided, and the navigation of the Somme closed, no exports for England being permitted to pass Abbeville, nor any imports from that country admitted. This alone, without any actual hostilities, reduced the marches of Calais and Guisnes to a state of ruin.|| The count of St. Pol, who had married Richard's half sister, urged the king of France to declare war, and he himself sent letters of defiance to Henry, — considering, he said, the affinity in which he stood, and the love and esteem which he bore to king Richard, and the reproach it would be to him and his descendants, and the indignation of God which they should have cause to

1400.

* Rymer, viii. 722. 736.

† Though these piracies were carried on from English ports, foreigners seem to have been engaged in them. Two of the captains, of whom the Hanse towns complain, are called by the strange names of Marcus Mexto de Vowyck, and Wilkok de Meer de Trirouwe. — Rymer, viii. 269.

‡ Rymer, viii. 193. The peace was again renewed with these "most ancient confederates," after some like interruption, in 1478.—Rymer, 12. 51.

§ Holinshed, iii. 15.

|| Froissart, t. 4. c. 118.

apprehend, if he did not attempt to take vengeance for his death; "wherefore," he continued, "I make known to you by these presents, that I will annoy you by every possible means in my power, personally, and by my friends, relations, and subjects, and will do you all the hurt I can by sea and by land."* So sensible was Henry of his danger at this time, that he called upon the primate to make "all abbots, priors, religioners, and other ecclesiastical persons whatsoever, take arms, and array themselves in thousands, hundreds, and twenties, seeing that the whole clergy were bound, equally with other faithful subjects, to put their helping hands to the defence of the holy church and of the kingdom; and that the enemy, with a great fleet of ships, and a mighty multitude of armed men, collected upon the sea, threatened to destroy the king, and his kingdom, and his people, and to subvert the English church."†

Meantime an army was assembled in Picardy, which should have landed in England, to have supported those lords who endeavoured to restore the deposed king; but when their defeat was known, and the murder of that unfortunate prince, this force was disbanded.‡ Charles was desirous of having his daughter, the young queen, restored, who was yet a child, and whom there was some intention of detaining as a hostage for that part of king Jean's ransom which had not been paid.§ Henry, on the other hand, well knowing that many of those great barons who had proved unfaithful subjects to his predecessor were not likely to be more faithful to him, and that they already repented of their imprudence, if not of their treason, wished by all means to avoid a rupture with France, and would gladly have obtained the young queen in marriage for his eldest son, as one who "in blood and age was in all things to her equal." This proposal, which a sense of feeling and honour might have withheld the French from entertaining, was waved by them, on the plea that

* Monstrelet. Johnes's translation, vol. i. c. 10.
† Rymer, viii. 123. 138. ‡ Holinshed, iii. 15. § P. Daniel, v. 397.

their king was not then in a state of mind to be consulted on such a question, an access having seized him of that madness from which he never recovered. The commissioners by whom the overture was made then treated of peace; and a truce for six-and-twenty years was concluded, which was, in fact, a renewal of that for thirty years that had been made with Richard. The queen was shortly afterwards sent home, with all the jewels, ornaments, and plate that she had brought into England, and a large addition to them given her by the king; and she was married ere long to the son of the duke of Orleans.*

This accommodation with the French government did not secure Henry against hostilities from the French coast. The count of St. Pol bore what an English chronicler has called "a deadly and malicious hatred" towards him: a just and honourable enmity it might rather be deemed considering the near tie of marriage by which he was connected with the deposed and murdered king, if he had manifested it in some worthier way than by a predatory expedition from Harfleur to the Isle of Wight. The islanders collected soon in such strength to resist him that he was fain to return with little spoil, and some loss of reputation.† A more successful descent was made the same year, near Plymouth, by the sieur du Chastel, from Bretagne, with a great company of Normans and Bretons: they entered that town, remained there some four-and-twenty hours, plundered it, set it on fire, and carried off their pillage and their prisoners.‡ This provoked a spirit of resentful enterprise. The west countrymen set forth a fleet under William Wilford; and the king appears to have commissioned him, as a likely means for obtaining some relief in his present want of money. Wilford took forty lawful prizes, laden with iron, oil, soap, and Rochelle wine, to the amount of 1000 tuns, upon the coast of Bretagne; forty more vessels he burnt: landing at Pennarch, he laid the country waste for some miles

A.D. 1403.

* Holinshed, iii. 18. † Ibid. 22. ‡ Fabyan, 571.

around, and did the same on a second descent at St. Matthew's, which town he fired, thus retaliating for what had been done at Plymouth.* But vengeance was promptly taken for this, if this were the same fleet which the admiral of Bretagne, with the sieur du Chastel, the sieur du Bois, and some 1200 men of arms, in thirty ships, encountered off St. Matthew's, and defeated, after three hours' action, taking one carrack, forty ships, and 2000 prisoners, the greater part of whom they threw overboard, those only being spared who promised to ransom their lives, and appeared able to make good the engagement.† The French, that they might not "seem slow to such mischiefs," made, in the winter, another attempt upon the Isle of Wight: they disembarked about 1000 men there, and had "got together a great booty of cattle," when the people came upon them in such strength that they were driven to their ships, leaving behind them their prey, and no small number of their comrades. A third attempt was made upon the same place, with more force, but with no better speed. What is called a great navy appeared off the island, and sent on shore to demand a specific sum, in the name of king Richard, and queen Isabel his wife. The islanders replied, that king Richard was dead, and the queen had been sent home to her own country; on that score, therefore, there was nothing to be demanded from them, and nothing would they pay: but if the French desired to fight, they might land without opposition, and have six hours allowed them to refresh and make themselves ready, and at the end of that time they should not fail to have battle: when the French heard this stout answer, they thought it best to decline the invitation, and return without any farther attempt.‡

A.D. 1404.

* Speed, 618. Holinshed, iii. 27. † Monstrelet, c. 12.

‡ Holinshed, iii. 27, 28. This must be the expedition which Monstrelet speaks of in his 19th chapter. St. Pol commanded, collected about 1600 men at arms, with many nobles, at Abbeville, and embarked at Harfleur, having there commended themselves to the protection of St Nicholas. While they were setting fire to some miserable villages in the Isle of Wight, a priest, he says, came and deluded the count with proposing to pay a large

The sieur du Chastel did not come off so easily from another expedition to the west coast, which he made in company with the admiral of Bretagne. That commander had taken some good English prizes laden with wine in the preceding year, and that success had encouraged him. They sailed, with thirty ships and 1200 men at arms, from St. Maloes, and landed near Dartmouth; where, both by land and by water, they met with a reception which they had little expected. The people of the country round came to the aid of the townsmen, and defeated them "in plain fight:" the women, it is said, "by hurling of flints and pebbles, and by such other artillery, greatly advanced their husbands' and kinsfolks' victory." An English fleet, which arrived in good time, captured many of the vessels. The sieur du Chastel, his two brothers, and some 400 men, were slain. Orders were despatched by the king, that none of the prisoners should be sent out of the kingdom without his special license*; and this was followed by instructions that Bertram de Guytyn, Jehan Gaudyn, and Olivier Arall, who are called knights, Tange de Chastell, Henry de Chastell, and a certain Welsh esquire, should be sent to the king, that he might converse with them, and learn from them as much as he could concerning the secrets and devices of his enemies.† Accordingly they were conducted to London, by the boisterous troop of plain west-countrymen who had captured them, and who now presented them to the king, "praying that they might reap some commodity by their captives. It was but reason," says Speed: "wherefore the king, who took pleasure to talk with the lusty western men, himself caused their purses to be stuffed with golden coin, reserving the prisoners

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ransom for the island. St. Pol too easily listened; for it was a device on the part of the priest to amuse him with words, until the English should arrive and give them battle; and when the count discovered this, he reembarked in haste.

* The order was repeated some weeks afterwards, and addressed also to the baileys of Falmouth and of Weymouth.—*Rymer*, viii. 362.

† Rymer, viii. 357, 358.

to repay himself with advantage out of their ransoms." * Half the ransom was the king's share, and in this instance he made a grant of it to the queen. †

Some of the enemy were captured the same year in an unsuccessful descent upon the Dorsetshire coast, near Portland, and a great dispute concerning the prisoners arose among the captors. They were, however, wise enough to refer it to the sheriff and other persons of authority at Weymouth, and the decision was, that, for the sake of peace and good-will, a tenth of whatever money might be raised, either by selling or ransoming the prisoners, should be distributed among those who, having been engaged in the fight, had not been so fortunate as to secure any prisoners for themselves. This award was confirmed by the king, but with a proviso, that it was not to be taken as a precedent in any like case thereafter. ‡

In the winter of the same year, great damage was done in Kent §, by the waters overflowing the sea banks, during a storm, in which Flanders suffered more than in any former inundation whereof any remembrance had been preserved; a tract of four-and-twenty miles in length was lost there with all its cattle and inhabitants, neither sea-wall, dykes, nor dams being able to resist the force of the waves, impelled by a tempestuous north wind. Much of the land about Damma and Sluys, which, with so much industry, had been reclaimed from the sea, was then lost. || The Spanish historian of Flanders ¶ observes, upon this occasion, that no like portion of territory in the world could have compared with this in wealth and strength, had it not been for the frequent losses which it sustained from this cause, and for the destruction which the people brought upon themselves by their seditions. The Flemings were, indeed, the most turbulent as well as the

* Monstrelet, c. 14. Fabyan, 571. Holinshed, iii. 29. Speed, 618. Camden, 29

† Rymer, viii. 382. ‡ Rymer, viii. 356.

§ Holinshed, iii. 32. || Gabbema. Nederlandre Watervloeden, 145.

¶ Sueyro, ii. 55.

most industrious of men. Even the dear desire of peace with England, which, as a mercantile people, they had so often expressed, and sometimes acted upon, in opposition to their courts, was counteracted at this time, by some of those restless adventurers who looked upon war or piracy as the easiest way to wealth, and cared not by which denomination the predatory course of life that they pursued might properly be called. They had some pretext for their vocation before the truce between England and France was renewed; the duke of Orleans, in whom the management of affairs during the king's malady was vested, having refused to let Flanders, as a dependency of France, remain neutral.* Corsairs accordingly had been fitted out in all the Flemish ports: they captured many English vessels which were laden with wool, and bound for Zeeland; and, with a ferocity that belonged to the national character, they hung such of the sailors as were not put to the sword.† The English revenged this by a destructive descent upon Cadsant, having increased their own force by hiring some ships of the Hollanders and Zeelanders. Against these latter the Flemish government made war in a way as effectual as it was easy, by seizing all the property belonging to Holland and Zeeland subjects in Flanders; and this soon led to an agreement there.‡

But the English, as they had more cause for hostility, were also better enabled to carry it on. With them it was not an affair of individual interests. The king, provoked at the insults which St. Pol and the Bretons had committed upon his coast, and at the cruelties which the Flemings had committed upon his people, sent out a fleet under his son, the lord Thomas of Lancaster, afterwards duke of Clarence, to revenge these injuries, "either by battle or depopulation of the sea coasts." He, coasting along, and landing "divers times, fired ships, burnt towns, and destroyed people, without favour or mercy."§ Then entering the Zwijn,

* Sueyro, ii. 56.
† Speed, 619. Holinshed, ii. 29.
‡ Sueyro, ii. 56.
§ Hall, 34.

he burnt many ships belonging to the Easterlings and other merchants in Sluys harbour, and besieged the castle. It was well defended, and the earl of Pembroke was killed in an unsuccessful assault. The English deposited his body in the church of Ter Muyden, which, for that reason, they spared when they burnt Heysvliet, and Coudekerke, and wasted the Isle of Cadsant. When the duke John the Bold came against them with a great force, Ghent alone having supplied him with 7000 men, they removed the body for interment in its own burial place, and put to sea; less from any apprehension of the duke's strength, than because they believed a report that he was about to attack Calais, and thought they might be needed there for its defence. Walter Jansen, a seaman in great renown among the Flemings, followed them in his galleon; and, watching his opportunity, cut off a ship which had much booty on board, and, among other treasures, the frontispiece of the altar from Ter Muyden: the ship he carried into Dunkirk, and this was restored to its place.* On their way, the English met with three Genoese carracks, one of which, "having the wind with her," endeavoured to run down the lord Thomas's ship; "but, by the good foresight of the master that ruled the stern, the violent sway of that huge vessel coming so upon them was avoided; yet the carrack struck off the nose of the English ship, and bruised her on the side. Then began the fight, very cruel, till the earl of Kent came to the rescue;" and, after a severe conflict, the three Genoese vessels were taken. The lord Thomas proceeded to the coast of Normandy, where he burnt the Hogue and other places, to the number of six-and-thirty, and laid the country waste for some thirty miles. He then carried his prizes into Rye, where one of them took fire, and was consumed, "to the loss," says the chronicler, "and no gain of either of the parties."†

The duke of Burgundy's intention to besiege Calais

* Sueyro, ii. 59. † Holinshed, iii. 36.

was disappointed by the refusal of the French government to concur in any such measure. His preparations were complete, and upon a great scale; and his resentment at having them thus frustrated is said to have been the immediate cause of that deadly hatred against the duke of Orleans, which brought so many miseries upon France. Neither were his Flemish subjects disposed to second his intentions against England, or to submit to them. Their trade with that country was of too great importance, and the mercantile interest at that time strong enough to prevail over the privateering; so that, upon complaints being made from England to the great trading cities, they had influence enough to have the admiral Van Blanckart banished, with two bastards of count Louis de Male, and some other persons of distinction, who had taken an active part in the predatory warfare.*

The only serious attempt which was made by France in support of those who resisted Henry's usurpation, or revolted against it, was on the side of Wales, in aid of Owen Glendower. Marshal Montmorency and the master of the arbalisters were sent with 12,000 men to Milford Haven, where they landed safely, though not without losing most of their horses on the way, for want of fresh water. They came with 120 sail: lord Berkeley and Henry Paye, who commanded the fleet of the Cinque-ports, burnt fifteen of their ships as they lay in the haven, and captured a squadron of fourteen on its way to the expedition, with ammunition and stores. By land the invaders were more fortunate. They made an attempt upon Haverfordwest, where they burnt the suburbs and the town, but were repulsed by the earl of Arundel, when they attempted to take the castle. They wasted the country with fire and sword, took Caermarthen, effected a junction at Denbigh with Glendower, burnt the suburbs of Worcester, and, when the king came against them in person, with a great force, he could obtain no advantage over them. Eight days

* Sueyro, ii. 59.

the two armies fronted each other, being posted on high ground, with a valley between them, and "each ready to abide, but not to give battle." Many skirmishes occurred, and some brave and distinguished persons fell: among them a brother of the marshal and the bastard of Bourbon. Want of provisions enforced the enemy to dislodge. The king followed them; but, "impeded with the desert ground and barren country through which he had to pass, over fells and craggy mountains, from hill to dale," says the chronicler, "from marsh to wood, from naught to worse, without victuals or succour," he was constrained to retire and make again for Worcester; and the enemy, harassing his retreat, cut off some of his stores. Finding, however, poor entertainment in Wales, and no hope of eventual success, the French returned to their own country, with some credit, but with no other advantage, from a painful expedition.* Eight ships, from a fleet of eight-and-thirty, conveying reinforcements to them, had been captured on the way; and Henry Paye brought home, from the coast of Bretagne, 120 prizes, laden with iron, salt, oil, and Rochelle wine.

Scotland and England had ever been ill neighbours to each other, nor had any approach towards a better feeling between them been made since the line of the Roman wall was traced out. The exiles and malecontents of one country were harboured, at this time, as they ever were, in the other. This led to open war; and a squadron, under sir Robert Logon, attacked an English fleet of fishers off Aberdeen. Some good ships of Lynn happened to come up in time to aid their countrymen, and Logon himself, "with the residue of his company, was taken. The English then landed upon some of the Orkneys, and spoiled them."† Robert III. of Scotland, who had lost an excellent and dearly beloved wife, who was himself declining into old age, and sur-

* Monstrelet, c. 15 Holinshed, iii. 40. Speed, 620.
† Holinshed, iii. 16.

rounded by nobles distinguished for their ferocity and factious spirit, even in factious and ferocious times, wished, by advice of the bishop of St. Andrews, Henry Wardlaw, to send his only remaining son to France, ostensibly for education, but rather, in truth, for safety. There was then a negotiation going on, as it appears, between Henry's agents and some of those nobles who were the curse of their country, for the deliverance of certain great fugitives into the king of England's hand, — which was to certain death. A kinsman of king Robert, sir David Fleming, discovered these practices, and gave the persons, whose lives were aimed at, timely warning, so that they made their way into Wales. This sir David was charged to conduct the young prince James to the place of embarkation; and as the prince would not have been safe from treason on the main land, sir David lodged him in the castle on the Bass Rock, till the ship which was to carry him to France should arrive from Leith, and take him on board. Having left him there, sir David was presently afterwards murdered by some of the party whose designs against the exiles he had frustrated. In consequence of the more open troubles that ensued, a year's truce with England is said to have been obtained; and during that time, according to writers whom there is no reason to distrust, young James embarked from the Bass. Coasting along, the ship was detained off Flamborough Head, by some cruisers belonging to Cley, in Norfolk, and carried into an English port*; and though the child (for James was but in his eleventh year) was provided with letters from his father, requesting the king of England that

A.D. 1405.

* Hall says that Hotspur's son, Henry, was with him, and that "by rigour of tempest they were driven on the coast of Holderness, called Flamborough Head, where the young prince, to refresh himself, took land, and he wrought not so privily but that he was known, and taken, with all his company."—P. 39. The statement in the text rests, however, not only on other authorities, but on his own: —

"Upon the wavis weltering to and fro,
So infortunate was we that fremyt day,
That maugre plainly quether we wold or no,
With strong hand by force schortly to say
Of inymyes taken and led away
We weren all, and brought in thair contrie."

favour might be shown him, if by any chance he should land within any of his dominions, reasons of policy prevailed over rectitude and honour; and, conformably to the advice of the privy council, the prince was treated as a prisoner. But this injustice provided better for him than his father's careful foresight would have done*: even confinement, perhaps, at first came in aid of a studious and gentle disposition, which was improved by the best education that the English court could supply. Boethius was his consolation in prison, and Chaucer his model. He became a most accomplished and amiable prince: he formed an attachment which ended in a marriage every way suitable, and produced his immediate enlargement; and when, after twelve years of as much happiness as could be enjoyed

* He says himself,—

> "Blissit mot be the Goddis all
> So fair, that glateren in the firmament;
> And blissit be thair myght celestiall,
> That have convoy't hale with one assent
> My lute, and to so glad a consequent:
> And thankit be Fortuny's exil tre
> And whele that thus so well has whirlit me."

When Henry "assembled his council to know what should be done with this noble infant, some," says Hall, "to whom the continual wars and daily battle was both displeasant and odious, affirmed that there could not happen a better or a more surer occasion of peace and amity between both the realms; which being so offered, they would in no wise should be rejected, but taken, considering that this prince was sent thither in trust of safeguard, in hope of refuge, and in request of aid and comfort against his evil willers and malicious enemies: others (whose opinion took place) affirmed him to be a prisoner, and so to be ordered, forasmuch as he was taken, the war being open, and that his father did not only maintain the earl of Northumberland and other rebels within his country, and give them great honours, but also sent a great number of his nobility against the king, at the battle of Shrewsbury. Wherefore it was agreed that he should be detained as a prisoner, lawfully taken and duly apprehended. When tidings of this definitive sentence was showed to his father, he took such an inward conceit, and so sore a pensiveness, that he ended his natural life within a few months after. Although the taking of this young prince was at the first time displeasant to the realm of Scotland, yet surely after, he and all his region had great cause to rejoice, and thank God of their fortunate chance and good luck that ensued. For where before that time the people of Scotland were rude, rustical, without any urbanity, having little learning, and less good manners, and good qualities least of all, this prince, being eighteen year prisoner within this realm, was so instructed and taught by his schoolmasters and pedagogues, appointed to him by the only clemency of the king, that he not only flourished in good learning, and fresh literature (as the time then served), but also excelled in all points of martial feats, musical instruments, poetical arts, and liberal sciences. Insomuch, that at his return from captivity he furnished his realm both with good learning and civil policy, which before was barbarous, savage, rude, and without all good nurture."—P. 39.

in his miserable station, he was murdered by a knot of traitorous subjects, he left for himself a more honourable remembrance, as the best poet of his age, than royalty can confer, or wealth and fortune purchase.*

In the hostilities that ensued, the vice-admiral of England, sir Robert Umfreville, infested the Scotch coast. Some little time before, upon an incursion into Scotland, he had burnt the town of Peebles, and obtained from the people of that country, who were not unwilling to profit by their neighbour's loss, the name of Robin Mend-market, because his men measured the cloth which they took there by the spear or the bows-length, and sold it at plunderer's price. He now entered the Forth with ten ships; and remaining there a fortnight, landed every day on one side or the other, and spoiled the country, notwithstanding the duke of Albany and earl Douglas had brought together a considerable power to oppose him. "He burnt the galleot of Scotland (being a ship of great account) with many other vessels, lying at the same time at Blackness, over against Leith; and at his return brought with him fourteen good ships, and many other prizes of clothes, both woollen and linen, pitch, tar, wood, flour, meal, wheat, and rye, which, being sold abroad," says Holinshed, "the markets were well holpen thereby, so that his surname of Robin Mend-market seemed very well to agree with his qualities."† Umfreville has a much better claim to remembrance; and it would be wronging his memory to omit it here. He and his nephew, Gilbert earl of Kyme, and their kinsman, sir John Gray, were sent with an English force to assist the duke of Burgundy against the Orleanists: they had taken a great many prisoners, and the duke commanded them to put them all to the sword.‡ But the English leaders made answer, that they were not sent thither

* Chalmers's Life of James I. Poetic Remains of the Scottish Kings Fordun, lib. xv c. 18. Holinshed, iii 40. Speed, 620.
† Holinshed, iii. 50. Hardyng, 366.
‡ It appears that sir Manserd de Bos had been put to death, and divers others, which the Burgogneans bought of the Englishmen that had taken them prisoners.—*Holinshed*, iii. 51.

to act as butchers; they would neither kill their prisoners nor offer them in the market for sale, but put them to their fair ransom, according to the laws of arms; and they drew themselves up in array with their prisoners, to defend, and, if need were, to die with them, as honour required. This determination had its effect, and the duke was politic enough to applaud them for the spirit they had displayed.*

A.D. 1405. At this time the French applied to the king of Castille, Henrique III., for naval aid. The Seville fleet of galleys, which would otherwise have been sent, was too far distant: the king, therefore, ordered forty ships to be made ready with all speed, and three galleys in Santandes, appointing Martin Ruiz de Abendaño to the command of the former, and Pero Niño to that of the latter. The two commanders were enjoined to wait for each other, and to keep company; although it was well known that ships and galleys could seldom act together, because it suited the galleys every night to seek the shore, and the ships to keep the sea. Pero Niño, afterwards Conde de Buelna, was a man of high birth, and had previously distinguished himself by his services in the Mediterranean. The king, who was then rejoicing over the birth of a son and heir, and whose heart was opened by festivity, provided this squadron most liberally: it was manned with the ablest men who could be found, either as soldiers or sailors; and money was not forgotten, though by the treaty between the two powers France was to take upon itself the charges of such a force while employed in its aid. So little concert was there between the two commanders, notwithstanding their instructions, that while the ships were at Santona, the galleys set out in quest of them from Santander, looked for them every where but in the right place, and having got to Passages without finding them, made at once for Rochelle. Pero Niño presumed on his influence, his abilities, and his good fortune; and probably he was better pleased to act independently with a small force than to co-operate

* Hardyng, 368.

with a much larger, in which the part which he could bear must necessarily seem subordinate. Gutierre Diez de Games, who accompanied him in the expedition as his alferez or standard-bearer, wrote the history of his master; and this chronicle is one of the most curious books of its kind.*

They were received with great honours at Rochelle, where the constable, Charles d'Albret, came to meet and confer with him. As Martin Ruiz did not arrive, it was determined that the galleys should try their fortune in the Gironde; and thither they accordingly went, with two shallops in company, having French archers and arbalisters on board. They failed in taking any of the English or Gascon vessels in the river: but they carried off cattle and prisoners, set fire to the standing corn, burnt some hundred and fifty houses within sight of Bourdeaux; and having plundered all on which they could lay hands, and committed all the devastation they could, they were lucky enough to return to Rochelle without falling in with an English fleet. It was considered a great exploit to have ventured where no enemy's galleys had ever ventured before them, and to have laid waste the best peopled and best defended part of Gascony.† While they were lying at Rochelle, a French knight arrived there with two galleys, which, at his own cost, he had built and fitted out at Marseilles. He was of the king's household, noble, rich, and adventurous; but for some of those affairs, the chronicler says, which may happen to great persons, he had found it necessary to leave the court. This person, whom Gutierre Diez calls Mosen Charles de Sabasil, was the Sieur de Seignelai, Charles de Savoisy, who had been brought up with Charles VI., and held the office of first chamberlain and chief cupbearer. He had presumed too much upon his rank: a king's officer having entered his apartment to arrest one of his servants, who was charged with robbery and murder, he had maltreated the officer,

* Cronica del Conde D. Pero Niño, part ii. c 16, 17.
† Ib. c. 20.

and thus brought upon himself a serious process, from which he was relieved by obtaining letters of remission, and undergoing the disgrace of being forbidden to leave Paris for two days. A year or two afterwards, his grooms, as they were going to water their horses at the Seine, fell in with some scholars of the university, who were walking in procession to St. Catherine du Val des Escoliers. The grooms, with that insolence which the retainers of the great frequently displayed, rode against the scholars, and hurt some of them; and the scholars, not being of an age or temper to endure the outrage patiently, attacked them with stones, and knocked some of them off their horses. The aggressors upon this hastened back to the Hôtel de Savoisy, returned armed with bows and arrows; and, with some of their fellow-servants to assist them, fell upon the scholars, and wounded some of them, even in the church. A great uproar ensued which ended in the scholars overpowering them by numbers, and driving them back, soundly beaten, and some of them severely hurt. But the university immediately, by their rector, appealed to the king, and required instant reparation, declaring, that if it were refused they would quit Paris, and fix themselves somewhere where they might be safe. This affray was far more serious in its consequences to the Sieur de Savoisy than the former outrage had been: he had probably abetted his people in this also; and the influence of the university was such, that he was banished from the king's household, and from those of the princes of the blood, and deprived of all his offices; he was condemned to found two chapelries of 100 livres each, which were to be in the university's gift, and his hotel was rased to the ground.* Upon this he took to the seas, not as it appears for the sake of plunder, but for the love of enterprise; and being enamoured of some lady of high rank, he bestowed upon his ships such profuse expenses as other knights lavished upon their armour and other equipments. His galleys were said to be more beautifully finished than any others of

* Monstrelet, c. 13. Moreri.

that age, and their flags to have cost more than in ordinary cases would have been deemed sufficient for fitting them entirely out. This adventurer proposed to join company with Pero Niño, and try their fortune upon the English coast. They were known to each other by reputation: it was agreed that the Spaniard was to take the command, and that before they crossed the Channel they should keep along the coast of Bretagne, in expectation of there finding the Spanish fleet.

They passed Belle Isle, where, according to the historian of this expedition, the inhabitants lived without any preparations or means of defence against any invaders, trusting to the protection of the church, the pope having pronounced sentence of excommunication against all who should offer them any wrong; which protection, however, it is intimated, was not always sufficient.* At Brest they found Martin Ruiz and his fleet, as they had expected; but neither he nor those who were under his command chose to concur in Pero Niño's projects: they had brought merchandise with them, and were wholly bent upon such profit as might be made in their own way. And here, the author says, it is to be observed, that when the king sent forth a fleet, it generally happened, since he had ceased to send his own captains with it, nothing but profit was cared for. If it was despatched to the assistance of an ally, the commanders received pay from both sides, took care to station themselves where the enemy could not come, and plundered the country of their friends, upon the pretext that they were in want of provisions. And when they fell in with merchant ships of their own country, they took from them whatever they liked, telling them that the king's servants must not starve, and bidding them apply to him for payment. Thus they plundered their countrymen instead of the enemy, and, for the sake of enriching themselves, brought an ill report upon their country; and this was the consequence of employing men who were moved by the lucre of gain, and not by

* Non traen armas, nin se defienden *aunque les fagan mal*

the hope of obtaining honour for themselves and their king.*

The author who thus describes the manner in which the Spanish naval service was at that time conducted, had formed no favourable opinion of the English nation. They were a people, he says, very unlike all other nations; which he accounted for by the nature of the tribes from whom they sprung, and by that of their country, which abounded with food, and was rich in metals; by their numbers, the land being exceeding populous, as well as of great extent; and by their maritime situation, by reason whereof they feared no other nation; neither did they love peace, or ever desire to be at peace, for in times of peace it went ill with them at home: they were too many for the land, and all could not be maintained then; wherefore, when at any time they made peace, and the king gave his safe conduct to foreign merchants, it was very seldom regarded. And it was because king Richard had concluded a perpetual peace with France, he says, that his subjects had deposed him, and put him somewhere, where he never afterwards appeared, alive or dead.† When, however, in their attempt at crossing the Channel, the galleys met with bad weather, and after great danger put back to the French coast, some of the adventurers observed, that God favoured that vile people the English; though they comforted themselves with thinking that it was because of their own sins, and that though they were sinners the English were worse, and, therefore, better success might be hoped for.‡

The weather became favourable; they made the coast of Cornwall, captured some fishing boats, obtained from the fishermen such information as they wanted, and proceeded to attack an unfortified town, which the writer calls Chita, and describes as built on the side of a hill,

* Cronica del Conde D. Pero Niño, part ii. c. 22. The editor observes, in his preface to the only edition of this work that has ever appeared, that it contains a much fuller and clearer account of the Spanish marine in those times than is to be found in all the chronicles of the kings.

† Ib. c. 18, 19. ‡ Ib. c. 22.

with all its streets leading to the water: the place contained about 300 houses, and was very rich, being inhabited wholly by merchants and fishermen. The entrance of the port was difficult; for the tide retired with such force that the galleys would neither answer to the oars nor rudder, till it had carried them in about the distance of a crossbow-shot, when they found themselves in a port which was safe in all winds. Here they landed, slew or captured many of the inhabitants, who made a brave resistance, plundered and burnt the place, took two ships, and sent these with their lading and the spoils to Harfleur. No time was lost in this work of destruction; and it was well for the assailants that they made such speed, as they themselves acknowledged, when they saw in what numbers the country people came to assist their neighbours, and with what spirit they attacked the galleys with stones and arrows from both sides of the mouth of the harbour as they went out.

They proceeded to Falmouth, where a good body of men at arms and archers were in readiness to oppose a landing. Pero Niño proposed to land, because he saw it seemed good fighting ground, and, moreover, it was necessary to land because they wanted water; but Mosen Charles (as the Spaniard calls the French commander) was of opinion, that, considering the disparity of their own numbers, with those whom they saw drawn up to resist them, the attempt ought not to be hazarded. A mistake on the part of the French, that this was the place where the sieur du Chastel † had been defeated and slain, had its effect in deterring them this day; and warm words ensued between the captain and Pero Niño: but when the latter had given up his intended enterprise, the mutual regard which they entertained for each

* Cronica del Conde D. Pero Niño, part ii c. 23

† Gutierre Diez interrupts his own narration here to give an account of this knight, Mosen Guillen del Castel he calls him, and of his exploits and death: porque de tan valiente é tan fuerte caballero como el fue en este mundo, razon es de facer grand mencion en las historias de los nobles Caballeros quando á caso vinieren (p. 99.). He makes no mention of the part which the Devonshire women had in his defeat.

other, and the sense of their common interest, soon reconciled them. They stood out to sea that night, being in fear of meeting an English fleet; on the morrow turned back along the coast, till they came to Plymouth: a good town it was at that time, and with a good fortress, where there was no landing against the will of the inhabitants, except at some distance from the place, which, if attacked from the land side, was not strong. It stood upon the banks of the river, about a gunshot from the sea, and there was a bridge of boats laid across the river, like that at Seville, some seven or eight barks sufficing. There were many vessels lying there, which, upon sight of the Spaniards, drew up to the bridge. The adventurers entered the river, hoping to capture, or at least set fire to some of these; but such a fire* was opened upon them from the town, that they found it necessary to make off with all speed, lest the galleys should be sunk. Both artillery and the old engines appear to have been in use here: a stone is said to have been projected to twice the height of a tower, and to have fallen in the sea half a league off.†

Their next attempt was upon the Isle of Portland, where they landed in the hope of carrying off some cattle, and what other booty they could find. The islanders, who were few and ill-armed, saw the galleys in time to retire into the caves, which they had converted into places of security or shelter on such occasions. The marauders made but few prisoners, and were soon recalled by sound of trumpet to their vessels; for the tide having gone out, archers and men at arms were hastening thither from the main land. Before they withdrew, the French set fire to some of the houses; but the Spaniards took no part in this, and prevented their friends from doing more mischief in this way, because the people were poor, and it was their captain's will that they should never thus make war against the weak; a rule, however, which neither he thought proper to

* Lanzaron tantas bombardas é truenos — que los de las galeras cuidaron ser anegados.

† Cronica del Conde D. Pero Niño, part ii. c. 23, 24.

enforce nor they to observe at all times. When the two commanders saw that they could not prevent succours from entering the island, they landed to support their men, and there was sharp-shooting from the archers on one side and the arbalisters on the other, arrows falling as thick as snow till night came on, and the invaders reimbarked. From thence they coasted on, landing for wood and water, and to carry off cattle, and to burn the houses and the standing corn, till Pero Niño learned that he was not far from Poole. "This place," says the chronicler, "belongs to a knight called Arripay, who scours the seas, as a corsair, with many ships, plundering all the Spanish and French vessels that he could meet with. This Arripay came often upon the coast of Castille, and carried away many ships and barks; and he scoured the channel of Flanders so powerfully, that no vessel could pass that way without being taken. This Arripay burnt Gijon and Finesterra, and carried off the crucifix from Santa Maria de Finesterra, which was famous as being the holiest in all those parts, (as in truth it was, for I have seen it,) and much more damage he did in Castille, taking many prisoners, and exacting ransoms; and though other armed ships came there from England likewise, he it was who came oftenest."* It is edifying to perceive that every nation regarded this sort of piratical warfare, when it was carried on by their enemies, in its proper light, — and yet all pursued it in the same spirit themselves! The sea captain, whose name when thus Hispaniolised looks as if it belonged to an Indian cacique, is no other than the Henry Paye of the English chroniclers.

Pero Niño no sooner heard that he was near Arripay's place of abode, than he determined to return the visits which that corsair, as he deemed him, had paid to the Spanish coast. Accordingly they entered the harbour, and came at daybreak in sight of Poole. The town was not walled, and a handsome tower with a cupola†, which

* Cronica del Conde D Pero Niño, part ii. c 25, 26

† Una fermosa torre cubierta de una capella de estaño, redonda toda entera á facion de una taza.

the chronicler describes, must have been erected for the sake of the view which it commanded over that beautiful inlet, not for defence. Here, as at Falmouth, the French commander thought it would be rash to attempt a landing; and when the Spaniard, as if the honour of his country required him to take some vengeance here, persisted in his purpose, Mosen Charles forbade any of his people to land with him. The Spaniards landed under the command of Pero's kinsman, Fernando Niño, with orders not to encumber themselves with plunder, but to plant their banner before the place, and set the houses on fire. One large building was maintained awhile against them; but when, after a stout resistance, they forced an entrance, the defendants escaped at the back part; and here the invaders found arms and sea stores of all kinds: they carried off what they could, and then set the storehouse on fire. By this time the English had collected, in some force, archers and men-at-arms; and having put themselves in array, they came so near that it might well be seen, says Gutierre Diez, who was of a ruddy complexion and who of a dark one. They had taken the doors out of the houses, which they contrived, by means of supports, to place before them as pavaises, to protect them against the crossbow-shot. Under this cover the archers kept up a brisk discharge with such effect that the arbalisters dared not expose themselves, while they stooped to charge their arbalists. Many were wounded, and those whose armour protected them are described as fledged with arrows. Pero Niño seeing his people in danger, and that they were beginning to fall back*, landed with the rest of his men; and the French then, notwithstanding their previous determination, hastened with all speed, like brave men, to support him. He set up the cry of Santiago, Santiago! and the English, who by their enemies' account fought

* Gutierre Diez has not failed to expatiate here upon the importance and danger of a standard-bearer's office. Without directly extolling himself, he lets the reader understand that he stood that day a mark for the archers, like another St. Sebastian, but with this difference—que le mamparaban las buenas armas que tenia, aunque en algunos lugares yá eran falsadas.

right well, were at length compelled to retreat, leaving among the slain a brother of Arripay's, a gallant man-at-arms, who distinguished himself by his great exertions before he fell.*

Here Pero Niño learnt from his prisoners that the Welsh were in arms, and had baffled the king's forces: this made him regret the more that Martin Ruiz should have refused to co-operate in this expedition; for with such a force he felt confident that they might have taken many towns, that the strength of the country would have been drawn from the coast, and that they might have levied contributions, and returned with great reputation and wealth. "If he had twenty galleys, as others have had there before and since," says his standard bearer, "it is to be believed that he would have done marvellous things." Gutierre Diez was, indeed, devotedly attached to his lord; and had it not been for his labours, Pero Niño's name would now be known only to Spanish genealogists. But though he was an excellent alferez, and a good chronicler, he was by no means the best of geographers; for he says that they went up the Southampton river, and came in sight of London, which stands about two leagues from the open sea, a great river called the Thames coming from the north, and encompassing the place on which it stands, and on the other side is the Isle of Wight.† They found a Genoese carrack lying there, which the English had captured; and they would have brought it off, but it had no sails: they were then about to burn it, when the Genoese came off to them in a boat, and, representing themselves as friends to the king of Castille, said their carrack had been taken, though it was provided with the king of England's safe-conduct, and that they were now

* Cronica del Conde D. Pero Niño, part ii. c. 27.

† —dixo el capitan que queria ir ver á Londres; é mandó facer la via de allá. E llegaron las galeras á un puerto que llaman Antona cerca de Londres. Londres parescia en un llano una grand cibdad: debia aver de la mar larga á alla dos leguas. Vienele de la parte del norte un grand rio que anda cercando la tierra donde alla está, que llaman el Artamisa Es ahi luego de la otra parte una isla que llaman Isla Duy. It is remarkable that the editor has taken no notice of this extraordinary mistake.

making suit for its restitution, wherefore they prayed that it might be left unhurt. The reasonable request was granted: the galleys then made for the Isle of Wight, where they landed, and after some skirmishing found it necessary to re-embark, and then returned to France.*

Reflecting upon this expedition, the author says that a man who makes war against Christians may be saved if he pleases, for in such a war the king is to see whether his cause be just or not, and the subjects, according to the law of Castille, are bound to do what he commands them. But in such a war the Christian must observe four things: he must never put to death one whom he has in his power, either as a prisoner, or as one who is overcome and at his mercy: he must neither rob churches, nor offer any injury to those who have taken refuge in them; nor help himself to any thing that may be found there, except a meal for himself and his horse: he must offer no violence to any woman, whether married or single; and he must neither burn houses nor standing corn, because the mischief falls upon the innocent and helpless. These rules, he says, Pero Niño ordered to be observed every where, except in Arripay's country, because he had burnt places in Castille. Soon after their return to Harfleur, Martin Ruiz arrived there, and was reproached by Pero Niño as caring little for the king's service: high words ensued; and Niño at last said, that he had not acted like a good knight, and that he would compel him to acknowledge this. The French interposed to prevent the combat †, to which this would otherwise have led, and they parted in enmity. Encouraged by the success of their late enterprise, or, rather, by the little resistance which they had found, the Spanish captain and Mosen Charles, with a reinforcement of three French vessels, set forth upon another expedition; but they were driven back by storms, and, as it was now late in the season,

* Cronica del Conde D. Pero Niño, part ii. c. 28.
† Ib. c. 29, 30.

no farther operations were thought of till the spring; and Pero Niño, moving with his galleys up the Seine, cast anchor at Rouen. He found his quarters most agreeable, not only because the French are an affable, hospitable, and joyous people, owing, as the chronicler believed, to the happy influence which the planet Venus exercises over their climate, but also because, in the vicinity, at a place called Girafontayna by the Spanish writer, the old admiral of France, Regnault de Trie*, who had retired from the service by reason of his age, kept a noble house, and had, moreover, for his wife the most beautiful woman in all France. The way, indeed, in which Pero Niño was entertained there forms so striking a contrast to his adventures on the English coast, and represents so fully the best manners of high life in that age, that a brief description of it may be regarded by the reader as a pleasant digression.

The old admiral's infirmities had compelled him to retire from court as well as from war: but his house or palace was as well furnished and provided as if it had been in the city of Paris; a river, the banks of which were adorned with groves and gardens, was in its front: on the other side was an enclosed fish-pond, so large and well stocked that fish enough for 300 persons might at any time be taken there, by drawing off the water. Game of every kind abounded in the woods; and there was an establishment of hawks, hounds, and horses, suited to the admiral's rank and riches. His lady was of the best lineage in Normandy, and kept the greatest state: she had in her family ten damsels of condition, whose only business was to attend to their own persons, and wait upon her as her companions, for besides these she had many ladies of her bedchamber.†

* Mosen Arnao de Tria, the Spanish writer calls him. He was lord of Fontenay, (which is, probably, the Girafontayna of the chronicler,) and resigned the admiralship, in 1405, in favour of Pierre de Breban, sieur de Landreville, surnamed Clugnet, and called, by Monstrelet, Clugnet de Brabant.—*Johnes's Monstrelet*, i. 105. n.

† Non avian cuidado de ninguna cosa si non de sus cuerpos, é de aguardar á la Señora tan solamente.

Her chamber, which was in a court or quadrangle, communicated with the admiral's by a drawbridge. She and her damsels rose early, and repaired to the adjoining grove, each with her prayer-book and her beads, and there, at due distance from each other, went through the string of their devotions; after which they gathered flowers, returned into the palace, went to the chapel, and heard mass. Mass being over, roasted fowls, larks, and other birds, were set before them in a silver dish, and they drank wine with their breakfast, they who chose, but madame seldom took any thing in the morning; when she did, it was but little, and only for complaisance. This done, the ladies mounted their palfreys, which were the most beautiful of their kind, and richly caparisoned: the knights and gentles, Pero Niño and his officers among them, who were the guests of honour, accompanied them, some making green chaplets, and others singing lays, and *delays*, and virelays, and rondelays, and *chazas*, and complaints, and ballads, and chansons,—all the forms of poetry which were then in vogue. The admiral was too infirm to ride with them; but when they returned to dinner, he, who notwithstanding his infirmities was very courteous, was ready to receive them. He and madame and Pero Niño seated themselves at the board, and the master of the hall then placed a knight and an esquire to a damsel alternately: flesh or fish, according to the day, and fruits, were served, all of the choicest kind, and in the best manner; and while the dinner continued, he who knew how to converse of arms or of love had fair opportunity of being heard and answered. Meantime there were joculars playing upon various instruments. When grace had been said, and the boards were removed, the minstrels entered, and madame danced with Pero Niño, and his officers with her damsels: the dances lasted an hour, after which madame kissed the captain, and every one from that example saluted his partner. Spices and wine were then served, and the company retired to take their afternoon's sleep.

When the company re-assembled, the pages were ready with horses and hawks. Madame herself carried a falcon-gentle on her wrist; herns were let fly; dogs took the water; drums beat; and ladies, as well as men, entered with spirit into the sports of the field, till, satisfied with their success, they repaired to a pleasant part of the grounds, and there sat down to a cold collation. The gallantries of chanting verses and twining chaplets were repeated on the way home. Supper followed; after supper madame walked out; they played at ball till night closed; the hall was then lighted with torches; the minstrels were again in attendance; they danced till a late hour; and concluded the operations of the day with fruit and wine. Madame ordered all these things, for the admiral was past all care of his affairs. How the admiral soon died; how Pero Niño and madame came to an understanding with each other; how they could not marry immediately—she, because it would have been indecorous, he, because he was in the king of Castille's service; how she agreed to wait two years for him, that he might quit that service with honour, and arrange his affairs in Spain; and how, before the end of that time, he found himself so engaged in war with the Moors that he thought it necessary to break off the engagement, are matters with which this history has no concern.

From Rouen Pero Niño went to Paris, to obtain pay for his people according to the conditions of alliance. This had been so long delayed, that he must have laid his galleys up for want of money, unless certain merchants had advanced it upon his personal credit. The chiefs who ruled the kingdom during the king's malady would have deferred payment, pleading the disordered state of affairs, if he had not persisted in demanding it, and assumed a resolute tone. The money was then forthcoming; and the duke of Orleans, in whose hands the chief authority was vested, took him into his household, with the office of chamberlain, in

which character he wore the duke's badge *, and received his pay, according to the custom of France, and as "beseemed his own estate and honour." When the winter was so far past that it was thought the galleys might put to sea, he repaired to Rouen, that he might pursue his instructions of infesting the English coast. The vessels had hardly begun to fall down the Seine, before, to the great consternation of both soldiers and sailors, an eclipse of the sun began: some said that the sun was wounded, and that it portended a great mortality, some interpreted it as a sign of dreadful weather at sea, and others predicted other evils; but Pero Niño explained to his people the cause of an eclipse, assured them that the sun could neither die nor be wounded, and that that which occurred in the course of nature could not be intended for a token. At Harfleur, his former associate, M. Charles de Sabasil, joined him, and their force was increased by three French ballingers, well manned. The reception which they had met with on the western coast of England, in the preceding year, had not been of a kind to encourage them; and as the English in those parts they thought would be likely to expect and prepared to encounter them, they determined to make for the coast of Suffolk †, hoping to surprise some place upon the Orwell. But when they arrived off the place which they designed to attack, and lay off, meaning to approach in the night and make their attempt at daybreak, a gale rose which drove them out to sea; and after having driven, with great danger, they knew not where, they were glad to put into the Zwijn. The people of Sluys, who were dreading a visit from the English, rejoiced at their arrival; and his French comrades would have made prize of four Portugueze ships, which arrived during their tarriance there, upon the

A. D. 1406.

* El le puso libreas é retenuas á la costumbre de Francia, segund que á su estado é honra cumplia, é diòle oficio de chamberlan en su casa.—p. 120.

† Gutierre Diez says that on the coast at this time they met with flying fish:—"Hay alli unos pescados que vuelan sobre el agua; algunos dellos atravesaban volando por encima de las galeras, é aún algunos dellos caian dentro." (p. 141.) Probably he had seen them in the Mediterranean, and confounded time and place in his recollection.

plea that, being allies of England, they were to be considered as enemies of France; but the Portugueze appealed to Pero Niño for protection, claiming the benefit of the truce between Castille and Portugal; and upon his interference, the French captain, greatly against his will, left them for that time unmolested.*

Having repaired and refreshed themselves here, they proceeded to Calais. Pero Niño thought to have cut out some vessels which were lying in the harbour; but the town was provided with cannon, which made him keep at a respectful distance, and enter the port of Nieulet, where the French maintained a garrison.* On the morrow he put to sea, and stood for the English coast. Presently they descried an English fleet; a council was called, and Pero Niño was for attacking them, the weather being calm. M. Charles, however, represented that the fleet consisted of many ships, and some of them large ones; that they were far from the land, and if the wind should come on, as it seldom failed in that sea, they should find themselves in great danger. But the Spaniard replied, that they ought to take advantage of the calm while it lasted, and do their duty; that the enemy were every day infesting Spain and France; there was now fair opportunity of fighting them; nothing could be worse than to give them reason to say, that the allies were afraid of them, and that if he had thought he were thus to shun the enemy instead of seeking them, never would he have come to France. M. Charles's caution proceeded from no want of courage: he took Pero Niño's warmth in good part; and, submitting to his will, declared himself ready to obey his orders.

The first preparation which the Spaniard made for action was to serve an allowance of wine, which was not commonly used in the galleys, or only in small quantities: but then, says the chronicler, it is very necessary, and of great profit, and gives strength and spirit to those who drink it; and this is the wine of which the prophet

* Cronica del Conde D. Pero Niño, part II. c. 37.

speaks when he says that it gladdens the heart of man. Meantime the English hoisted their flags at the poop, and formed in line of battle, the larger ballingers in front, the smaller behind: these vessels are here described as low-built and long, and some of them as using both oars and sails. They had ten large ships to support them; and the Spaniard admired the appearance of the archers and men-at-arms as they were drawn up for action. Pero Niño was provided with viretons dipt in some combustible composition, which were, when kindled, to be discharged from crossbows, in order to set the enemy's sails on fire. With these he had little success, his people not having the same inclination for coming to close quarters that he himself displayed. Nor was he more fortunate in endeavouring to direct what may be called a fire-boat against the English ballingers, by thrusting it towards them with a long pole or yard from the head of his own galley; for the English kept it off with their long spears, and drove it back upon him, so that it proved alike dangerous, or rather alike harmless, to both parties. Presently, as M. Charles had forewarned his eager associate, the wind sprung up; it filled the sails of the English; the French made all speed toward their own shore; and the other Spanish galleys, seeing their danger, waited not for orders to take the same course; only Niño himself and his crew were so intent upon their fire-boat and the interchange of quarrels and arrows which was kept up the while, that the ships were bearing down upon him before he was informed it was time to think of escaping. With more of bravado than of true bravery, he exclaimed that he would either be carried into England, or carry the enemy into France, or die, as it might please God: his men were wise enough to perceive that in this case it was a false honour which would have prevented them from living to fight another day; and, without contradicting him, or losing any time in words, they veered the galley round, and pulled off with all their strength. His angry emotions did not last long when he saw that his own galleys as well

as the French had forsaken him, and that he was left without support. When, however, ten of the enemy's lighter vessels came up with his galley, and, not venturing to close with it, sought to detain it till more force should come up, one of the French ballingers manœuvred with great skill and courage for its relief, and having got the weather-gage, bore down upon the enemy, passed safely through them, ran against one of the vessels which was pressing upon Niño, so as to carry away her bowsprit and render her unmanageable, and, though not without some injury from the shock, passed on and saved itself, having singly ventured upon what the whole squadron had feared to undertake. Luckily for Pero Niño, the wind lulled as he drew nearer the shore, and he got into Gravelines, flattering himself with the assertion that, if the calm had continued another hour he should have captured that whole fleet, and have had, among his prisoners, the king of England's daughter, who was on board with her suite and her riches, on the way to her marriage with the duke of Bavaria; and, what would have gratified still more the Spaniard's feeling, Arripay himself, who was the admiral.*

Pero Niño had now learned by experience that galleys were as little adapted † for the climate and the tide harbours of the British Channel as camels are for travelling up and down hill. Having coasted along to Crotoy, he waited a month there in vain expectation of such weather as might render it prudent for him to make another expedition to the English coast. Hitherto he had been so little successful in the way of profit, that his comrade, M. Charles, having consumed all his own means, was compelled to part company with him, and

* Cronica del Conde D. Pero Niño, part ii. c 38.

† La mar de poniente es muy brava, demás para las galeras. En todas las costas, tambien de Francia, como de Inglaterra, non hay cala nin reparo, por quanto contesce, que tomando la galera buen reparo, asi de mar, como de viento, llegando á la tierra, á poco de rato viene la menguante, é si non se guarda, fallase en seco: conviene que con hora vaya á buscar reparo, ó se meta a la mar larga, que es muy peligrosa para las galeras, porque nunca en ella dura mucho la calma. La galera, si ser pudiere, querria que nunca oviese viento.—P. 164.

give up what had proved a luckless pursuit. The French would no longer serve without pay; Niño had no money with which to assist them; so they parted with mutual regret.* The Spaniard then, with his own galleys and the few ballingers which he had engaged, proceeded along the coast of Normandy, and fell in with six large and well armed ballingers coming from Harfleur on a cruise against the English. They proposed to join company with him, and on they went towards Bretagne. There they came up with a large fleet of French vessels bound to Brouage † for salt: their new comrades advised Pero Niño to detain these vessels as transports, and, as the opportunity was then in his power, to invite the Breton lords of the adjacent country to join him in an expedition against Jersey, a rich island, where he might gain great honour, and, moreover, levy a large contribution. The traders were willing enough to take their part in an adventure in which plunder was to be gained, and nothing on their part but the expense of a few days' time was risked. The Breton lords were easily persuaded. Pero Niño told them, that as the Spanish fleet had refused to act with him, his own force was not strong enough to make another attempt upon the English coast, where the people were every where prepared for resistance; or even if he had ships and men enough, the season was now too late, but Jersey ‡

* Moreri says, "Il commandoit, en 1405, les forces navales du royaume, et tant des vaisseaux armés sur les côtes de Normandie et de Picardie." This must refer to his adventures with Pero Niño, in all which, however, it is evident that he was acting on his own account, and held no command in the king's service. Monstrelet makes no mention of his naval exploits, but says that he lived for some time, greatly dispirited, in foreign countries, where he conducted himself so discreetly and honourably, that, through the queen and some great lords, he made his peace with the university, and with their approbation returned to the king's household.

Mr Johnes adds, in a note from Paradin, that during his exile he signalised himself against the Moors, of whom he brought back to France so many prisoners, that he constructed his magnificent castle of Seignelay without the aid of other labourers.

It appears that he was in the action of 1406, against the English fleet; but this must have been as an adventurer—after his separation from Niño, and before his success in the Mediterranean.—*Monstrelet*, c. 28.

† La Bachia, in the original; but no doubt Brouage is meant.

‡ In the preceding year, Jersey and the adjacent isles had been seized into the king's hands, upon the arrest of Edward, duke of York, to whom they belonged. *Rymer*, voce, 387.

was close at hand: with the aid of their valour much might be done there; and he trusted in the Lord and our Lady for victory and honour.*

In two days, a Breton force well equipped for such service was embarked: a few hours sufficed for the passage; they reached the island at evening; and some two or three score men, without waiting for orders, or asking leave, landed to pick up shell fish, and any thing else they might find. The islanders attacked them, and they received a wholesome reproof when they were brought off by the boats. Orders were given that no person should leave the fleet without orders on pain of death; nor move from their ranks, when they were drawn up for battle, till the trumpet sounded. The check which they had received was sufficient to make them understand the necessity of discipline, and submit to it. There was an islet near, with a chapel upon it dedicated to the Virgin Mary, a place convenient for the invaders, because they could land there by laying a plank from the ship's side to the shore, and because it was easily defensible against superior numbers, though the space which separated it from the island was left dry at low water. There they landed; and, with the advice of the leaders, Pero Niño ordered the ships to put off, that his people might have no thought of escaping by their help. Good watch was kept, lest any attempt should be made upon them during the ebb: the men were instructed to be in readiness two hours before day; and three boats, with some arbalisters on board, were appointed to keep near the shore, and shoot any, whether French or Spaniards, who might fly to the water-side in hope of being taken off.

At day-break all were ready; the tide was then falling; the trumpets sounded, and they crossed the sands. Pero Niño, to whom the whole management of this enterprise had been committed by the Bretons, as his standard bearer says, "in God's name," for they went piously about their work, placed the men-at-arms in

* Cronica del Conde D. Pero Niño, part ii. c. 39.

order, with his banner in the midst of them, and bade them remain quiet till he should have arrayed the other part of his force. Some forty paces in advance he drew up the archers and crossbow-men in two wings: with each was a man-at-arms bearing a banner with his armorial ensigns; and in front of each wing he formed a payaisade of sixty pavaises. Here, too, he stationed those who were called by the significant appellation of Pillards *, and other ill-armed men, who were more likely to distinguish themselves in the spoil than in the battle. "Friends," said he to these fellows, "take notice, that ye are now in an enemy's land! look at them! There they are, well-armed, and in battle array, as ready to meet us as we are to meet them; and there are enough of them, but they are neither so strong as we are, nor so brave. Remember that you have the sea behind you, and there are none in the ships to help you, so that you must place no trust there. You are between two enemies, the sea and the land; there is no escaping by flight; if you run into the sea you must perish there, and if you yield yourself to prison, you know how the English deal with the Castillians, and that they are without compassion. But if you stand firm and fight well, there will be the glory for you, and plenty of spoil; for, as you see, this is a rich and beautiful country. Keep your ground, and let not a man move till they approach you. Call upon Santiago, who is the patron of Spain, and he will aid us!" Spaniards, Normans, and Bretons, there were not less than 1000 men-at-arms in the expedition; and it may well be supposed, says Gutierre Diez, what labour a single knight must have gone through in ordering and arraying such a body, he, too, being armed at all points, except his head. There was not a single person, knight or footman, on whom he did not put his hand, instructing them twice or thrice, and informing them what they were to do.

The Jersey men, who, by the Spaniard's account, were about 3000, besides 200 horse, came on bravely;

* Pillartes.

they also put their lighter troops forward; and when these, after a hard fight, were compelled to fall back, and the pavaisaders and bowmen pressed upon them in pursuit, these men-at-arms being about equal in number to those of the invaders, past through both, and encountered the enemy's main body. Their lances, after the first encounter, were exchanged for battle-axe or sword, and presently "cuirasses might be seen loosened, and vambraces and cuissarts broken; swords and battle-axes were let fall from the hands that wielded them; some came to dagger thrusts, some grappled with their foes, some fell and some rose again; and the battle was so fierce, and the press so great, that he who came off best had enough to do." It was the chronicler's opinion, as an eye-witness, that few, on either side, would have been left alive, had it not been for his hero, Pero Niño, who, observing a white banner with the cross of St. George still planted where many others had been beaten down, called to the good Breton knight, Hector de Pombrianes, and to the best of those who were about his person, and said, "Sirs, as long as that banner is standing these English will never let themselves be conquered: let us try hard for it!" Both leaders, accordingly, with some fifty chosen men, made for this banner. The chief person who defended it was the receiver-general *, a brave man, who was mortally wounded, and could not be borne from the field. Many of the Jersey men fell round him; the banner was beaten down, and the islanders having, as it appears, lost their commander in him, took to flight. Helmets, coats of mail, and even lighter arms, were thrown off when safety seemed to depend on speed; but the invaders were in no condition to pursue them, so many were hurt, and so wearied were they all. The pillards, however, and their worthy associates, upon whom little or none of the strife had fallen, were busily employed in their vocation, plundering and burning without fear and without remorse.

* Llamabanlé el *Recevenr*; é yo lo vi yacer entre mis pies, é finabaso yá, y non podian con el andar adelante, tanto era el apretamiento de la gente. —P. 156.

The battle was fought upon a fine sand, which was about half a league in length, and now thickly bestrown with the arms and bucklers which the islanders had thrown away in their flight. Pero Niño mounted some fifty of his people upon the horses which they had taken; and, leaving his standard bearer to embody the men and remain with them, rode about to collect those who were dispersed in the thickly enclosed country. This done, he withdrew the whole to the islet for the night. There he questioned his prisoners concerning the strength of the island, and what they knew of the English fleet. They told him that there were five strong castles in the island, well provided, and held by English knights; that the islanders were in number 4000 or 5000 men, under a commander from England, who had been with them in the action; that the townsmen, labourers, and fishermen, inhabited a large town surrounded with a palisade and with good ditches: there they had their property, and their wives and children. Thither the greater part of those who escaped from the battle had repaired, and it was of old their resolution that, rather than allow an enemy to enter, they would all perish. The English fleet, they said, was at Plymouth waiting for a wind, and might be daily expected; it consisted of 200 sail well armed.* He then held a council, and proposed that they should conquer the island and keep it, which would be better than laying it waste with fire. The Bretons replied, that this could not be done unless they got possession of the five castles; but that, if he pleased, they would plunder the land and leave it. He then said, "Let us go toward the town, and see if they are willing to fight; if they are not, we will then advise how to proceed."

In the morning, therefore, they recrossed the sands, and marched towards the town, which was about two leagues off. Some of the pillards were sent before to set fire as they went; and as the country was well peopled, abounding with houses, gardens, and corn, it

* Among which were Castillian ships, *urcas*, *cocas*, and ballingers. — P. 158.

was a pitiful sight, says the Spaniard, to see it in flames, considering that it belonged to Christians. One in a herald's garb was soon sent from the town to supplicate for mercy. He had invaded them, defeated them in battle, and was now laying waste the land: with this he might be contented; and they prayed him, for God's sake, to desist from farther ravages, seeing that they were Catholic Christians, and ought not to be destroyed like enemies to Christ's faith. Moreover, they prayed for mercy for the love of the queen of Castille, his royal mistress, who was English by birth, and who could not but be displeased at their sufferings. Pero Niño, in reply, desired that four or five of the principal people should be deputed to confer with him. When these persons came, and had kissed his hand, he spoke sternly to them, saying, "Ye know that whenever the English fleet goes to make war upon Spain, it touches here first, and is here supplied with men and with provisions; so that ye are all enemies of Castille. Moreover, these islands belong of right to Bretagne, and were subject to it, till your forefathers, in their wickedness, rebelled and turned English. Ye must therefore submit yourselves to me in the name of my lord the king of Castille; and if not, you and your country shall be put to fire and sword." The poor deputies humbly represented that they were, indeed, of the Breton nation; but that long ago these islands had been conquered by the English; and in many parts of the world it often happened that men were subdued by their enemies, and obliged to obey them, not for love, but perforce and for fear. In that state their forefathers had left them, and in that state they must remain, unless some stronger power delivered them from it, for all their fortresses were in the hands of Englishmen. If he could take the castles, they would then submit to him; but if he could not, of what avail would be their submission? he could not protect them against the English; and when he withdrew, must leave them to the great danger which would thus be brought upon them. "As for the castles," replied the Spaniard,

"I trust in God soon to gain them; meantime, yield you this town of yours." Upon which they said they would repeat his demands to their fellow-townsmen, and bring him back the reply.

The deputies soon returned, and said, "Sir, the people of the town commend themselves to your mercy, and bid me say, that this town and yon castle are all they have: these they have always had for their own, and never French or English have entered them, this being their law and their privilege for the security of them and theirs: their wives and children and goods are there, and they will rather all perish than ever allow the place to be entered. Ask of them gold, silver, cloth, or other things, and they will give you what they are able. And may it please you not to approach the town; peradventure you might well take it; but, be assured, that it would first cost you some of those whom you hold dear, and occasion would thereby be given for killing men, women, and children, as many as are there, for which God would never hold you discharged." Pero Niño then asked his companions what should be done? They replied that the islanders had spoken very reasonably, and asked what was just: it was best, therefore, to agree with what they proposed, and to lose no time. Indeed, they were desirous of profiting by their success without delay, lest the English fleet, of which they had heard, should heave in sight. A contribution of 10,000 crowns of gold was therefore demanded, under the name of a ransom; of which as much as could be immediately raised was given, and four hostages delivered as security for the rest. The Spaniard likewise insisted that for the next ten years they should render him, yearly, twelve spears, twelve battle-axes, twelve bows, with the proper complement of arrows, and twelve trumpets; and this, though most reluctantly, they promised.

Meantime, the men belonging to the salt-fleet drove down to the coast all the cattle upon which they could lay hand, with which, and with much plunder from the houses, they embarked, and went their way. Horses,

says Gutierre Diez, were cheap * that day at the embarkation. Pero Niño, with his Norman and Breton associates, sailed for Brest, where some Breton merchants advanced the remainder of the contribution, and the hostages were delivered over to them; the money was then divided among the adventurers, according to their rank. The Castillian fleet was now ordered home. Pero Niño sent a messenger to Paris to dispeed himself of the king and the royal dukes, and then departed for his own country. But his galleys had nearly been lost on the coast of Bretagne; and it was not till he and his people had called, with many prayers and vows, upon St. Mary of Guadaloupe, and St. Mary of Finisterra, and Santiago of Galicia, and St. Vicente of the Cape, and Fr. Padre Gonzalez de Tuy, that the wind fell and the storm was allayed.†

A. D. 1405. The seas were not so well defended as the coast, during the time that this Castillian fleet infested them. Yet the king had made his son, Thomas of Lancaster, admiral, and assigned to him a force of 1400 archers, and 700 men-at-arms, including 2 earls, 12 bannerets, 80 knights, and 605 esquires.‡ 1406. But in the ensuing year it was agreed that the merchants should take upon themselves the keeping of the seas, from the 1st of May till Michaelmas, and from thence to the Michaelmas following: for this they were to receive certain of the king's duties, among other, 3*s.* upon every pipe of wine. The appointment of two admirals, one for the south, and another for the east coast, was vested in them. Accordingly they named Nicholas Blackbourne for one, and the king constituted him admiral of the

* They were sold for five or six *blancs* each, which is the value of twelve maravides, says the Spaniard. The *blanc* was half a *sol*.

† Cronica del Conde D. Pero Niño, part II. c. 39, 40.

‡ For the (*eskippeson*) shipment of this force he was to have twenty *granz niefs de toure*, twenty barges and twenty ballingers, and to each of these double *eskippeson* (?). The king and his council were to assign such provisions for these as they thought good. Their wages, for the fifteen bannerets, four shillings a day, amounted by the quarter to 274*l.* (It appears, therefore, that the admiral and the two counts received pay as bannerets.) Eighty bachelors (here used as synonymous with chevaliers), 2*s.* per day, per quarter, 728*l.*; men-at-arms, 1*s.* per day, per quarter, 2752*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.*; archers, 6*d.* a day, 1309*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* Sum total for the quarter, 8243*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* —*Rymer*, viii. 389.

fleet from the mouth of the Thames northward, with full powers of collecting and manning such ships of war as might be required, and with all other powers which former admirals had possessed. By the end of October, however, complaints poured in both from the king's liege subjects and his allies, that, owing to the neglect of those who ought to guard the seas, great depredations were committed, and great losses had been sustained: upon this, orders were issued for sequestering the duties which had been assigned to the merchants, till reparation should have been made to the parties aggrieved.*

A naval action took place this year, while the duke of Orleans was laying unsuccessful siege to Le Bourg. The French admiral, Le Clugnet, put to sea with two-and-twenty ships, manned expressly for this service, in quest of an English fleet, of what force has not been stated, nor by whom commanded. He fell in with it; an action ensued, with considerable loss of killed and wounded on both sides; and Le Clugnet, having lost one of his ships, which was carried into Bourdeaux, returned to Le Bourg.†

A. D. 1407. During the summer of 1407, London, with the country round about, was so infected by the plague, that the king was afraid to approach it; and being at Leeds Castle, in Kent, he determined to take ship at Queensborough, sail over to Leigh in Essex, and take up his abode at Plashey till the pestilence should be stayed; and, because some French privateers, or pirates as they are called, were hovering about the mouth of the Thames, Thomas lord Camois was appointed to convoy him across with certain ships of war. It was supposed that the pirates had some intelligence of this; and when he was in the midst of the passage, "whether the wind turned, or that the lord Camois kept not a direct course, or that his ship was but a slug," the French entered among his fleet, and took four ships close to the king's,

* Rymer, viii. 439. 449. 455 It is pleasant to find that security was granted at this time to the French, Breton, and Flemish fishermen.—Ib. 451.

† Monstrelet, c. 28.

in one of which was his vice-chamberlain, sir Thomas Rampstone *, "with all his chamber stuff and apparel;" and they followed the king so near, "that if his ship had not been swift he had landed sooner in France than in Essex; but by God's provision and good hap he escaped the danger, and arrived at his appointed port." Henry was "sore moved with the lord Camois;" and in that suspicious temper, which is part of the earthly punishment of successful ambition like his, he caused him to be arrested, and indited upon a charge of having corresponded with the enemy, and plotted to betray him into their hands. He was arraigned before the earl of Kent, who was the high steward; and "were he guilty or guiltless," says Hall, "faulty or clear, culpable or innocent of that fact and doing, he was by his peers found not guilty, and dismissed at the bar, having restitution both of his lands, goods, and offices."†

A.D. 1410.

The truce between France and England having been ill observed by sea, the French admiral Jacques de Chastillon was appointed on the one part, and Thomas Beaufort on the other, "the king's dear brother, admiral of England, and conservator of the said truce upon the seas," to meet, and adjust all differences which had arisen on that account. ‡ In the spring of the same year the king sent the earl of Kent with an armament to clear the seas, because the coasts were infested by rovers who had done much hurt, and upon whom Henry was no doubt desirous that vengeance should be taken for the jeopardy in which he himself had been placed by them. Hearing of the earl's coming, they made for Bretagne with all speed, whither, upon the information of his espials, he followed them, "and finding that they had laid up their ships in the havens, so as he could not fight with them by sea, he launched out his boats, and with his fierce soldiers took land, and manfully assaulted

* I know not whether this was the same sir Thomas Rampstone, constable of the Tower, who in the same year "was drowned in coming from the court, as he would have shot the bridge, the stream being so big that it overturned his barge."—*Holinshed.*

† Hall, 36. Holinshed, iii. 43, 44.

‡ Rymer, viii. 622, 623. 653.

the town of Briake *, standing by the sea-side. The citizens threw out darts, cast stones, shot quarrels, and manfully defended their walls; in which conflict the earl received such a wound in his head that he departed out of this world the fifth day after." The assailants were exasperated by his loss, not dismayed at it; and continuing their assaults till they had forced an entrance, they set the town on fire, slew all who resisted, and then, for want of a commander, returned with their prizes and prisoners to England.† The earl left a young widow, daughter of Barnabe Galeas lord of Milan: the king, with whom he was a favourite, had procured for him this advantageous alliance; and, on the day of his marriage at St. Mary Overy's church, he received with her 100,000 ducats as her dowry. He left no child, and Henry urged the widow to marry the earl of Dorset, bastard-brother to her deceased husband, who happened to be very old and ill-visaged; but the lady, not unwisely preferring her own mind to the king's desire, "for very love took to husband Henry Mortimer, a goodly young esquire, and a beautiful bachelor. For which cause, the king was not only with her displeased, but also, for marrying without his license, he seized and fined her at a great sum of money." This act of legal tyranny, which would have been odious if exercised upon a native subject, was worse in the case of a foreigner who at his instance had been brought from her own country; and it is among the better acts of his son Henry V. that, upon his accession, he not only released and pardoned her, but knighted her husband, and promoted him to great offices, both in England and Normandy.‡

A.D. 1411. Two bold mariners, about this time, by name sir John Prendergest and William Long, scoured the seas, so that no pirate durst appear, and merchants and passengers might pass to and fro in safety: yet they were accused, through the malice, it is said, of some who envied

* St. Brieux? † Hall, 40. Hollinshed, iii. 45, 46. ‡ Hall, 40.

their success, of helping themselves from such ships as they met with, against the owner's will; and these complaints were urged with so much apparent, if not actual truth, that Prendergest, being in London, took sanctuary at Westminster. The king forbade all persons to harbour him; and the fear of any way appearing to disregard this prohibition was so great, that even the church afforded him little protection, and but cold shelter; so that he was fain to set up a tent within the abbey porch, and have his servants keep nightly watch, lest he should there be put to death by his enemies. Long, the while, kept the sea, thinking that there he should always have the means of escape. The lord admiral went in person to pursue and seize him. Long, however, kept at safe distance, till he had obtained from him not only a promise of pardon, but an assurance, upon his pledged faith, that he should receive no harm; yet, "notwithstanding all promises, upon his coming in, he was shut up fast in the Tower, and so for a time remained in durance." Probably he was released when Prendergest either made his peace with the king or exculpated himself, and, being restored to favour, was sent out with a fleet of thirty sail. He made a successful expedition, and "took good prizes of wine and victuals," which are said to have "relieved the commons greatly." By this expression, it should seem as if the value of the prizes were carried to the public account, and the naval charges thereby diminished in an equal amount; yet no facts are known that support such an inference, and the only apparent benefit that any part of the commons could have derived from such captures must have been a reduction in the price of wine, and some few other things, in the ports into which the prizes were taken. Among other enterprises, Prendergest landed at a place which the English chronicler calls Craal, on the fair day, "took the town," it is recorded, "and robbed the fair; so as they that were come thither to sell their wares had quick utterance and slow payment." How little such warfare differed from robbery,

— how little moral improvement since the time of the Danes had been effected in this respect, — was not perceived by the chronicler, nor, indeed, acknowledged in the days of queen Elizabeth.* Yet it must be borne in mind, that the usages of the age warranted it; and that practices which would now, deservedly, be deemed infamous, were then sanctioned by the common consent of nations.*

A.D. 1413. Towards the end of this reign †, three floods are said to have followed, one upon the other, in the Thames, and no ebb between, the like of which no man living could remember. Henry Bolingbroke had reigned thirteen years, "in great perplexity and little pleasure." He had reaped as he had sown — care, insecurity, suspicion, enmity, and treason ‡, and curses "not loud but deep:" — "for," says Holinshed, "by his proceedings, after he had attained to the crown, what with such taxes, tallages, subsidies, and exactions as he was constrained to charge the people with; and what by punishing such as, moved with disdain to see him usurp the crown, (contrary to the oath taken at his entering into the land, upon his return from exile,) did at sundry times rebel against him, he won himself more hatred than in all his lifetime (if it had been longer by many years than it was) had been possible for him to have weeded out and removed. And yet, doubtless, worthy were his subjects to taste of that bitter cup, — sithence they were so ready to join and clap hands with him, for the deposing of their rightful and natural prince, king

* Holinshed, iii. 50. 55. † October 12. 1413. Fabyan, 576.

‡ O very God! what torment had this king!
To remember in brief and short entent:
Some in his shirt put oft time venoming,
And some in meat and drink great poisonment;
Some in his hose, by great imagenement,
Some in bed-straw, irons sharp ground and whet,
Envenomed sore to slay him, if he had on them set.

Some made for him divers enchantement,
To waste him out and utterly destroy:
And some gave him battle full felonement,
In field within his realm, him for to noy;
And on themselves the hurt and all the annoy
Aye fell, at end that hang'd were and headed,
As traitors ought to bene in every stede.

Richard, whose chief fault rested only in that, that he was too bountiful to his friends, and too merciful to his foes." He was now in the forty-sixth year of his age, when, at a council held at the White Friars in London, "order was taken for ships and galleys to be built and made ready, and all things necessary provided for a voyage which he meant to make into the Holy Land, there to recover Jerusalem from the Infidels; for it grieved him (it is said) to consider the great malice of Christian princes, that were bent upon a mischievous purpose to destroy one another, rather than to make war against the enemies of the Christian faith, as in conscience it seemed to him they were bound." That he seriously entertained this intention there is no doubt: he was moved to it by the common belief of that age, by an apprehension (from an inward sense of premature decay) that his life would not be long, by the desire of obtaining such assurances for the next world as were liberally promised to those who engaged in such meritorious expeditions, and, perhaps, as tradition has said, by a prediction that he was to die in Jerusalem, which would seem to him prophetic of his salvation. Preparations were made with all speed; and when "his provisions were ready, and that he was furnished with sufficient treasure, soldiers, captains, victuals, munitions, tall ships, strong galleys, and all things necessary for such a royal journey," while he was praying at St. Edward the Confessor's shrine, "to take there his leave, and so to speed him upon his voyage," he was seized with a fit, and being carried into an apartment in the abbot's house, called Jerusalem, there he expired.* It is remarkable that he should have been buried at Canterbury, beside the Black Prince, whose son he had deposed and murdered.

* Fabyan, 576. Holinshed, iii 58. An account is preserved *de stuffura navis*, in which Philippa, Henry IV.'s daughter, on her marriage to the king of Denmark, sailed for that country. This *stuffura* consisted of two guns, forty pounds of powder for those guns, and forty stone bullets for them (*petras pro gunnes*), forty tampons, four touches, one mallet, two firepans, forty pavys, twenty-four bows, and forty sheaves of arrows.—*Rymer*, viii. 447.

A.D. 1415. One of the first acts of Henry V. was to remove the body of that murdered king from its obscure burial-place, and deposit it, with royal solemnities, in a sumptuous tomb at Westminster *, as if to proclaim unto the world that although he had succeeded to the throne, he had not partaken in the guilt by which it had been purchased.—The truce which subsisted at this time had produced little security to seafaring people; and safe-conducts were set at nought, piracy being carried on both upon the high seas and on the coasts, and even in the ports of England, Ireland, and Wales, with an audacity that defied the laws; and it appears that pirates found every where from the inhabitants that sort of encouragement which even in better times is shown to smugglers. It was therefore found necessary, early in the new reign, to declare such breaches of the king's truce and of his safe-conduct high treason, and subject to the same punishment, as also all voluntary secret abetment, procuring, concealing, hiring, sustaining, and maintaining of persons engaged in such courses. And conservators of the truce and of the king's safe-conducts were appointed in the ports, with full power to proceed against offenders; it being required that every conservator should for his qualification have an estate of forty pounds in land by the year at least.† Two men learned in the law were to be associated in the commission with each conservator. But then, as in every age, it was soon found that measures, which were designed for the protection of the peaceable part of mankind, were immediately taken advantage of by men of predatory habits. The Scotch, and other enemies of England, availed themselves of this law, because it secured them against reprisals so long as it was enforced; and a subsequent statute, after setting forth that this consequence had been experienced, declared, that whenever the king's subjects had thus suffered wrong, the king would, to their greater comfort, and to the intent that they should have remedy without delay, grant them letters of marque and reprisal.*

* Holinshed, iii. 62.

† 2 Hen. 5. c. 6.

When the king had determined upon leading an army into France, he hired ships from Zeeland†, Holland, and Friseland, his own naval means not being sufficient for the transport: among his other preparations, "requisite for so high an enterprise," boats covered with leather, for the passage of rivers* are enumerated. The fleet with which he crossed from Southampton, and landed at the mouth of the Seine, consisted of 1000 sail.‡ The siege and capture of Harfleur followed, and the battle of Agincourt, — one of those ever-memorable victories, the remembrance of which contributes to support the national spirit whereby they were achieved. Like those of Cressy and of Poictiers, it was gained under circumstances of such extraordinary disadvantage, that the conqueror himself was impressed with reverential awe at his own success; and when on his return to England the Londoners met him in solemn procession on Blackheath, he, "as one remembering from whom all victories are sent," would not allow his helmet to be carried before him, whereon the people might have seen the blows and dints that he had received; "neither would he suffer any ditties to be made and sung by minstrels of his glorious victory, for that he would have the praise and thanks altogether given to God." §

Soon afterwards the emperor Sigismund, who was related to Henry by marriage, came to Calais as a mediator between the two kingdoms, bringing with him the archbishop of Rheims, as ambassador from the French king. Thirty great ships were sent to bring him and his train over. When he entered the harbour at Dover, the king's brother, Humphrey duke of Gloucester, "and divers other lords, were ready to receive him: at his approaching to land, they entered the water sword in hand, and by the duke's mouth declared, that if he intended to enter the land as the king's friend, and as a mediator to entreat for peace, he should be suffered to

A.D. 1416.

* 4 Hen. 5 c. 7.
† Holinshed, iii. 68. Rymer, ix. 215, 216.
‡ Holinshed, iii. 72.
§ Ib. 84.

arrive; but if he came as an emperor to a land which he claimed to be under his empire, then were they ready to resist him. This was thought necessary to be done for saving of the king's prerogative, who hath full pre-eminence within his own realm as an absolute emperor." * Sigismund's hope was to bring about in person what he had vainly attempted by negotiation, — a league among all Christian princes for the defence of Christendom against the Turks. The danger was at that time not less serious than when the first crusade was undertaken; and Henry, whose mind had already been directed towards such an enterprise by his father's preparations, might, perhaps, have lent a willing ear to it, as he did to the mediation, if tidings had not, unhappily for France, arrived of some success which the earl of Armagnac had gained over the duke of Exeter, near Rouen, which so displeased him, that he would hear no word of peace. That anger, however, abated, and the emperor's representations seemed again to produce some effect. Meantime Armagnac, elated with his recent advantage, laid sudden siege to Harfleur; and the viscount of Narbonne, the vice-admiral of France, made an attempt upon it with his whole navy, thinking to have taken it by surprise: failing in this, the French laid close siege to the place, both by land and water. Exeter, while he defended the place manfully, found means to despatch a swift bark, with letters soliciting speedy relief; and Henry, it is said, would have embarked in person for the succour, if the emperor had not admonished him, that it was neither necessary nor honourable for a prince, on whom the whole weight and charge of the commonwealth rested, to adventure himself in every peril. Assenting to the wisdom of this advice, he appointed his brother, John duke of Bedford, to command the expedition: it consisted of 400 sail †; and the earls of March, Oxford, Huntingdon, War-

* Holinshed, iii. 85.
† Hardyng, 377. Hall says 200; but as the number of men is stated at 20,000, the larger number of ships, considering their probable size, is the more likely.

wick, Arundel, Salisbury, and Devonshire embarked in it.*

They sailed from Rye, "and, with a prosperous wind and a fresh gale," came to the mouth of the Seine, on the day of the Assumption of our Lady. Narbonne, seeing their approach, came boldly to encounter them at the entrance of the harbour. Upon this the English sent forward certain strong and well made ships, which captured two of the enemy, the French captains committing themselves rashly before their comrades could arrive to support them. "The duke," says Hall, "followed incontinently with all his puissance, and, like a valiant captain, with great courage and audacity set on his enemies: the fight was long, but not so long as perilous, nor so perilous as terrible; for battles of the sea be ever desperate, for neither the assailants nor defendants look for any refuge, nor know any back door how to scape out." In the end, almost all the whole French fleet, to the number of 500 ships, hulks, carracks, and small vessels, was taken or sunk: the largest of the prizes were three large Genoese carracks, which were sent to England. Harfleur was immediately relieved by the victorious fleet, and Armagnac † raised the siege. ‡ The battle was fought on the 15th of August, and the fleet remained in the road somewhat more than three weeks afterwards, being becalmed there during the greater part of the time. The bodies which had been thrown overboard in the action, or sunk in the enemies' ships, rose and floated about them in great numbers; and the English may have deemed it a relief from the contemplation of that ghastly sight, to be kept upon the alert by some galleys, which, taking advantage of the calm, ventured as near them as they durst by day and night, and

* Hall, 73, 74.

† "Armagnac, the constable," says Speed, "hearing how his consorts had kept tune on the seas, thought it not best to set to their note, lest his mean would not be heard, the base of this music sounding too deep, and, therefore, he put up his pipes, and got him to Paris."—P. 635.

‡ Hall, 75.

endeavoured to burn the ships with wildfire.* Having thus performed his commission, the duke of Bedford, "with no small number of prisoners, and great abundance of prey, as well in ships as provision for the sea, returned to England with great triumph and glory;" upon which Sigismund is said to have complimented both Henry and his people, by saying that happy were the subjects who had such a king, but more happy the king who had such subjects.

While Henry was preparing for a second expedition, that he might profit by the discord which prevailed among the French nobles, the enemy increased their naval force, by hiring a great number of Italian ships, chiefly Genoese. Part of their fleet lay at the mouth of the Seine, to prevent maritime supplies from reaching Harfleur: the rest kept the sea. The king, therefore, before he embarked, sent his kinsman, the earl of Huntingdon, with a sufficient force against them. He fell in with some of the great Genoese carracks; and, after an action which lasted the most part of a summer's day, sunk three and captured three, taking the admiral Jacques, the Bastard of Bourbon, and as much money as would have been half a year's pay for the

* Hardyng, 377, 378.—I have met with no earlier mention of wildfire in any of our naval actions. The passage in Hardyng is as follows:—

They fought full sore afore the water of Sayn,
With carrikes many well stuffed and arrayed;
And many other shippes great of Hispayne,
Barges, balyngers, and galleys unaffrayed,
Which proudly came upon our ships unprayed;
And by the even their sails avaled were set,
The enemies slain in battle, and sore bet.

And many drvent were that day in the sea,
That as our fleet rode there then still alway,
Unto the feast next of her Nativity
The bodies flote among our ships each day;
Full piteous was and foul to see them aye,
That thousands were — twenty as they then told —
That taken were in that same battle bold.

In which, meanwhile, while as our ships there lay,
It was so calm, withouten any wind,
We might not sail, ne fro thence pass away.
Wherefore their galleys each day there gan us find,
With oars many about us did they wind,
With wild fire oft assayled us day and night,
To brenne our ships in that they could or might.

whole fleet.* These prizes he brought to Southampton; from whence the king shortly set forth with a fleet of 1500 ships, the sails of his own vessel being of purple silk, richly embroidered with gold.

British valour was never more signally displayed than under this victorious monarch, the remainder of whose short reign was one series of successful enterprises. Yet no Englishman can delight to dwell upon the details, as upon the history of Edward III. and the Black Prince. Henry of Monmouth equalled them as a warrior, and perhaps excelled them as a politician; but they were the admiration of their enemies, because of the magnanimity which they displayed in prosperity, — their courtesy, their humanity. Henry was a merciless conqueror, and made himself feared. At the time of his death, after his last confession, when, at his desire, the Penitential Psalms were read to him, he interrupted the priest at the words, "Build thou the walls of Jerusalem," and declared, as a dying man, that it had been his intention, as soon as he should have settled France in peace, to undertake the conquest of Jerusalem, if it had pleased God to let him live out his days. So ingenious," says Hume, "are men in deceiving themselves, that Henry forgot, in these moments, all the blood spilt by his ambition, and received comfort from this late and feeble resolve, which, as the mode of these enterprises was now past, he certainly would never have carried into execution." It has now, however, been ascertained, that immediately after the treaty of Troyes, Guillibert de Launoy, a Flemish knight, who was counsellor and chamberlain to Philip the Good of Burgundy, and had been ambassador to Henry, was sent by that king and by his own master, upon a secret mission to the Holy Land. That mission was successfully performed: he made a military survey of the coasts and defences of Egypt and Syria, from Alexandria round to Gallipoli; and the two copies of this survey, intended for the two princes, are both in existence; but

A. D. 1416.

* Holinshed, iii. 88, 89. Speed, 636.

before the report was completed, Henry V. had been summoned to his account. No reasonable doubt, therefore, can now be entertained that it was his full intention, as it had been his father's, to undertake a crusade. As little should it be doubted, that though ambition and policy may have entered largely into his motives, devotion also moved him.*

CHAP. VIII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VI. TO THE DEATH OF RICHARD III.

THE crown devolved upon an infant not nine months old †; and, though the government during his minority was administered by able hands, the loss of a single mind was soon felt; for Henry was a king whom the turbulent feared, and whom the people loved, and who was respected by all ranks. Early in the new reign,

* Account of an unknown MS. of 1422, by Granville Penn, esq., in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. i. p. 1. The report which was written for the duke of Burgundy is in Mr. Penn's possession; he purchased it in Flanders; and that which was designed for the English government he discovered among the Hatton MSS. in the Bodleian.

A curious paper concerning this Gilbert de Launoy has been preserved by Rymer (xi. 22.). He had imposed upon Henry V., by a story that a carriage, containing all the money and valuables which he had received from the king for his journey, had been plundered in Picardy, and that he had thus lost every thing. Henry, believing this, replaced the sum of 200l., and gave him, moreover, a vestment of cloth of gold. He then performed his embassy, and made his report of it. But during the journey conscience had so continually reproached him with the fraud, that when he presented the report, he confessed it to cardinal Beaufort, and with such marks of contrition that he not only obtained a remission of the sin, but also of the money. This did not make him at peace with himself, and after an interval of twenty years, he entreated a confirmation of this forgiveness, or at least that some restitution might be required, which he would, he said, humbly and thankfully make. The contrite will was accepted, and the remission was confirmed as fully as it had been first granted.

† It is prettily said by Speed, "The pretty hands which could not feed himself, were yet made capable to wield a sceptre; and he that was beholding to nurses for milk, did nevertheless distribute the sustenance of law and justice to so great and warlike nations."—P. 650.

sir William Bardolf was appointed admiral; but without prejudice to the duke of Exeter, the king's uncle, who was admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine for life.* Abuses were committed and outrages which no man would have hazarded while he was living. Among the acts of piracy in which great men ventured to engage, one was brought home to Marcellus, the abbot of St. Augustine, in Canterbury. By his name it may be presumed that he was a foreigner. It was proved before the lords of the council, that he had been concerned in taking and plundering, upon the high seas, a ship laden with wine, belonging to John Lorsdme of Abbotswell, and to certain persons of Boulogne and Bruges; and he was condemned by the council in seven nobles for every tun of the wine (thirty-nine in all), which, by his own confession, came into his hands; in six shillings each for thirty-seven which had been destroyed by his fault; and in sixty nobles for the other damages and expense of the injured parties and of their proctors.† It is not stated whether he incurred any farther punishment.

A.D. 1425.

The English interests in France were greatly shaken by the advantages which the French obtained under Joan of Arc; but the reputation of the English arms suffered little, because those advantages were ascribed to miracles on one part, and to witchcraft on the other; and, by the capture of that extraordinary enthusiast, they re-established the opinion of their strength, and confirmed that opinion at the cost of a national crime, by her barbarous execution. But their affairs were more seriously injured by the profligate connection of duke Humphrey with Jaqueline of Hainault, the most flagitious woman of her age; and by the light marriage of a far abler man, his brother, the great duke of Bedford, regent of France, to a daughter of the Comte de St. Pol, in the seventeenth year of her age. His former wife was sister to the duke of Burgundy: by the second he united himself

* Rymer, x. 68. † Brees' Cursory Sketch, 235.

to a house between which and the house of Burgundy there was an old ill-will; and Charles VII. did not fail to avail himself of the opportunity thus afforded him, for detaching from England the most efficient of her allies. He succeeded completely in this object; and before the terms by which the change of policy was purchased were made known, the duke sent ambassadors to England, notifying the new alliance which he had made, renouncing the old one, and advising the young king and his council to conclude a peace with France. It is said, that when the young Henry heard these letters read, he apprehended the losses that were likely to ensue, and that his eyes were filled with tears. The intelligence seems to have taken the king's council, as well as the people, by surprise. The former are said, on this occasion, to have manifested the discord that prevailed among them, reviling each other not less than the Burgundians; and numbers of those who, in turbulent times, arrogate to themselves the name of the people, gathered together and attacked Flemings, Dutchmen, Brabanters, Picards, Hainaulters, and other foreigners, indiscriminately, as subjects of Burgundy, and murdered many of them before order could be restored. The ringleaders in this mischief were seized and brought to justice.*

A.D. 1435.

The indignation of the English government was increased, when it was known that among the cessions made to Burgundy were many places which had sworn fidelity to England. To remonstrate against this disloyal conduct was in vain: the duke's "ears and senses being strongly mured" against all representations of this kind; "for king Charles had set about them, as it were, a barricado of royalties, privileges, honours, money, cities, towns, and whole provinces."† Honour, indeed, has had little influence upon ambitious rulers at any time; and the obligations of religion were even more easily removed, two cardinals having absolved him, and the great lords of his party, from the oaths they had taken to the English. Both parties prepared

* Monstrelet, vii. 292. † Speed, 657.

for war; and the duke resolved to begin by besieging Calais, which he now claimed as part of the county of Artois, and his by inheritance. The consent of the free states of which his dominions were composed was necessary. Among the arguments which were used to the people of Ghent, one was, that the possession of Calais by the English was very injurious to all Flanders, for the Flemings who went thither to purchase wool, tin, lead, or cheese, were forced to pay in money, according to what rate of alloy the English pleased to put on it, or else in ingots of gold or silver; and this, it was urged, was not done in other countries. The fact proved rather a want of probity on the one part, than any abuse of power on the other. The debasement of the coin was the act of the Flemish government; and the direct consequences of such a measure were felt by the people in their dealings with a nation whose currency was of a different standard. On the part of England, indeed, this was a measure, not of exaction, but of self-defence, enjoined by the statutes of the realm, because of "the great deceit" in the gold and silver money of Flanders and Scotland: such deceit, when that money was current in divers parts of the realm, having been "to the great damage of the king and of his people." And, as if to preclude all pretext for complaint from the Flemings, the act had been made general, prohibiting the circulation of any foreign coin whatsoever in England, and requiring that whatever was received in payment at Calais should there be "put to bullion."* The loss, however, was represented to them as a grievance which they endured from the English; and the Ghentese consented, by acclamation, to support the war, and the whole of Flanders entered into it with equal eagerness.† "What

* 2 Hen. 4. c. vi.

† "The duke declared to them," says Hall, "the right, title, and interest that he had to the town of Calais, and the county of Guisnes, as a very patrimony belonging to his inheritance: shewing, farther, that the said town was the gulph and swallower up of all the gold and silver of his countries and dominions; forasmuch as there was the staple of wool, tin, lead, and other merchandize, for the which the Englishmen would take no

was Calais?" they said: "they could make a meal of it at any time!"* Holland also entered into the duke's views, and agreed to assist him with ships for the intended siege. The same ready concurrence was not found in Zeeland: there the people of Zierekzee, who had in those days a good port, listened to the overtures of England, and chose to continue their profitable trade with that country; and when the bailey of Middleburgh embargoed an English ship, which was bound for the fair at Antwerp, and imprisoned the crew, the inhabitants, regarding this as a breach of their privileges, forced open the prison, released the prisoners, and restored the ship and cargo.†

There were none who entered into the enterprise with more alacrity than the men of Ghent. All the burghers of that city, of whatsoever rank, were required to appear within three days before the sheriffs, and enrol themselves, on pain of forfeiting their franchises, and to provide themselves with all necessary habiliments for war. No armour or weapons of any kind were to be taken out of the country, and the punishment for breaking this order was to be ten years' exile. Those who had been ordered to perform certain pilgrimages in expiation for their sins, were now excused from performing them so long as the war should last, and for fourteen days after; and all who had quarrels were placed, for the same term, under the protection of the law. The number of men for which Ghent had engaged was 17,000: every town and village of its de-

common current money, but only gold and silver, to the great impoverishment of his seigniories and regions: saying, farther, that Calais only was the common stop between his countries and Bretagne and Spain, so that southward nor westward his subjects could not pass, without the danger of that town: wherefore, these detriments considered, he determined (if they would assent) shortly to recover and conquer that town, and the county of Guisnes. To this purpose all the council and common people not only agreed, but also promised aid, both of men and money. Lord! how the Flemings bragged, and the Hollanders cracked, that Calais should be won, and all the Englishmen slain; swearing and staring that they would have it within three days at the most, thinking verily that the town of Calais could no more resist their puissance than a pot of double beer, when they fall to quaffing." (P. 181.)—"But they reckoned before their host, and so paid more than their shot came to."—Ib. 182.

* Sueyro, ii. 279. † Ib. 277, 278.

pendence knew its quota, and every family the sum at which it was taxed. The carriages which were required came in too slowly for the impatience of those by whom the preparations were directed. A proclamation, therefore, was issued, that if they were not forthcoming within three days, the deacon of the Black Hoods and his attendants should be sent round to seize on all the best without exception: upon which the farmers and peasants, in fear lest the Black Hoods should visit them, immediately sent their carts to the appointed place. Every man was to provide himself with a lance and a short mallet, either of lead or iron, spiked on the head. Two mallets would be reckoned as equal to one lance; but those who should present themselves without such arms were warned that they would not pass muster, and that they would be punished. The people of Bruges were, on this occasion, heartily in unison with those of Ghent, and that city began already to feel the license of war. Most of its people who had been ordered on this service had forthwith forsaken their trade, and spent their time and money in drinking houses, where drunkenness led to quarrels, and quarrels to blows, bloodshed, and frequent deaths.*

The Flemings had persuaded themselves that, at their approach, the English would, for very fear, abandon Calais and fly to England; and, therefore, they were particularly desirous that a fleet should be ready before they arrived before the town, hoping thus to cut off the garrison from all means of escape. "They needed not," says Monstrelet†, "have been so uneasy on this head, for the English were well inclined to defend themselves; and, in truth, king Henry and all England would as soon have lost their thirty years' conquests in France as the single town of Calais." When the emperor Sigismund was in this country, he advised Henry V. to keep the towns of Dover and Calais as he would his two eyes, because they gave him the com-

* Monstrelet, vii. 341—347. † P. 358.

mand of the narrow seas.* That able and ambitious prince needed no admonishment to teach him the importance of a place which gave him entrance at any time into France; and the nation were not less persuaded of the advantage of retaining a conquest which had been so hardly and honourably gained. The governor, sir John Ratcliffe, had no sooner despatched intelligence of the duke of Burgundy's designs to the king's council, than the earl of Montaigne, who was son to the duke of Somerset, and the lord Camois, were sent with 1500 men and "great foison of victuals," to reinforce and supply the garrison, while a large force was preparing to attack the besieging army. Thus strengthened, the English did not wait to be besieged in Calais, but made an attempt to surprise Boulogne. They found the French too vigilant to be surprised, and too strong to be assaulted; but they burned some of the shipping, and, carrying off what booty was within their reach, returned without loss. Soon afterwards they made a foraging party in the opposite direction, toward Gravelines. The Flemings in that quarter collected, against the advice of their leaders, insisted upon attacking them, and were defeated, with the loss of from 300 to 400 killed, and "full sixscore prisoners." Their next expedition was into the Boulonnois. It happened, that on the same night a part of the besieging force, which Jean de Croy, the bailey of Hainault, had assembled on the borders of Picardy, set out from a village called Le Wast, two leagues from St. Omer, on a like expedition into the English marches. Neither party knew of the other's intent, nor were they likely to have met; but when the bailey approached the English border, he sent out some men-at-arms, who were well acquainted with the country, to gain intelligence. They returned with news that they had fallen in with the rear of an enemy's detachment, near the bridge of Milay, about daybreak, and had reconnoitred them; had seen that

* Libel of English Policy. Hakluyt, i. 187.

they were very numerous, and that they were advancing into the Boulonnois. A council was held; and the resolution was to pursue the English, in the hope of finding an opportunity for attacking them when they were engaged in plundering the villages; but if not, to give them battle wherever they might meet.

The scouts were not long before they descried the smoke and fires from villages and little towns, which marked the track of the English in their destructive inroad; but some prisoners fell into the hands of the English, who, being then informed that an enemy was at hand, and in considerable force, collected their men upon a rising ground between Gravelines and Campagne-les-Boulonnois. The greater part of their force was not seen, being upon the slope of the hill on the farther side, when the advanced party of the Burgundians began the action; and the main body, confiding in their seeming advantage of numbers, hastened on, eager for the engagement. From three to four score of the English on the summit were slain in the first charge, and the others took to flight. They were rallied on the other side of the declivity by their comrades; the Burgundians, when they came to the brow, lost heart as well as hope at the unexpected sight of this larger body; halted, in dismay, for the arrival of their own main force; and in this state of mind, which prepared them for defeat, were resolutely charged by the English. Instantly they gave way, wheeled round, and fled with all speed towards Ardres, as the nearest place of safety. Thither they were pursued full gallop, even within the barriers, and some of them were killed close to the ditches of the town. Upwards of a hundred were slain or taken. Among the former was Robert de Bournonville, surnamed *Le Rouge*, and six other distinguished persons: among the latter were many men of note. Jean de Croy had been wounded by an arrow, and his horse killed. He, however, and the lord Denlez, made their way to the abbey at Lisle, sorely grieved at their defeat; and certain gallants, who had

been knighted that day, won their spurs in a manner which would deprive them of all pleasure in celebrating the anniversary. The earl of Montaigne came out of Calais to meet the conquerors on their return, and gave them a most joyful reception: but he sharply reproved those who, by giving way at the commencement of the action, had put the host in imminent danger.*

By this time the preparations† for the siege were complete, and the duke went, without any retinue of state, to Ghent and other places in Flanders, that he might expedite the march of the Flemish troops. Early in June, a general muster was made in Ghent of the force belonging to that city‡ and its dependencies: they remained in the great market-place, where they had been drawn up, from eight in the morning till noon, and then marched out on the road to Calais: the duke accompanied them as far as the open country, and then went to Bruges, to hasten in like manner their contingent. The weather was so hot, that two of the Ghentese captains and several soldiers died of the heat. The duke had given strict orders that no marauding should be permitted; and, in consequence, while they halted at Armentieres, one-and-twenty men were hanged upon the trees in front of head-quarters for robbery. As they advanced, they took vengeance for the defeat of their countrymen in the affair near Gravelines, — not upon the English, but upon the property of the two persons who held the command in that unlucky affair, and who vainly represented that no blame was imputable to them, for the Flemings that day would neither listen to their advice, nor obey their orders. At Gravelines they were joined by the force from Bruges, Ypres, and other parts of Flanders. The carriages for

* Monstrelet, vii. 348—372. Sueyro, ii. 281. Holinshed, iii. 187.

† "To tell you what ordinance was now cast, what powder was bought, what engines were devised, what harness was provided, what victual was purveyed for this great enterprise, I will not cumber you in rehearsing every thing particularly, because the Flemings write that the provision was more than tongue could speak, or heart could think."—*Hall*, 181.

‡ The sieur de Comines commanded this part of the army, and Jean de Comines commanded the force from Ypres. One of these was probably father to the historian.

the conveyance of their tents, and the baggage and stores, were out of number; and on the top of each, Monstrelet says, there was a cock to crow the hours. Very many peasants had been collected to draw the cannon and other engines, the artillery both of ancient and modern warfare being at this time in use. Here they were mustered before the duke and Richemont, the constable of France. There were full 30,000 men "wearing helmets *;" and the constable is said to have been struck with admiration at the strength which the duke from one single province had brought into the field.

They formed, indeed, a formidable array, if an army were to be estimated only by its numbers, and the appearance of the men. One who was not well acquainted with the composition of that army, might have judged of it the more favourably, because the Flemings made no pretension to the pomp and bravery of war, but wore plain armour; and the regularity of their encampment was beautiful, the tents of every town having their separate quarter; and in these again the various trades being separately classed and subdivided into companies, each quarter had thus the resemblance of a town, and the whole appeared at a distance like a great city. But it was soon seen that with this civic regularity, neither the principle of military disciple was to be found nor of civil obedience. A hare ran through the Bruges part of the camp; the clamour which was set up was mistaken for an alarm; the whole force took the field; and when the cause of the disturbance was understood, the appearance of this poor frightened animal † was regarded as an ill omen. That presage was confirmed when they had crossed the river, and were about to encamp for the night at Tournehem: a tempest began, of wind, and rain, and thunder, and lightning: the lightning was deemed to manifest itself portentously over the town and towers of Gra-

* Monstrelet, vii. 352—356. Sueyro, 282.

† Monstrelet says a wolf; but Sueyro says it was a hare, and notices the evil augury which was drawn from its appearance.

velines; and the force of the wind was such, that they could not pitch their tents, but were forced to take up their lodging upon the ground, and abide the brunt of the storm.*

The duke himself was confident of success: he had hitherto been fortunate in all his designs, and in this, which was the greatest enterprise that had been undertaken for many years, the popular feeling had thus far entirely corresponded to his wishes; so much did the Flemings seem to have the conquest of Calais at heart. In reliance upon this feeling, he had dismissed half his Picard and Burgundian men-at-arms, against the advice of experienced counsellors, who warned him that, in case of danger, he would find a handful of gentlemen worth more than all the commons of Flanders.† Perhaps he thought that more danger was to be apprehended from quarrels between this part of his army and the Flemings than from any other cause; for the manner in which the latter asserted their superiority was likely enough to have provoked resistance. The Picards were so noted for their alacrity in pillaging, that their name had passed into a word of reproach. The Burgundians were not less expert in this branch of their military profession: but the Flemish commanders had set out with the determination of rigorously enforcing order in this respect; and, under the plea of enforcing it, the Flemish soldiers did not content themselves with replevying the spoil from the plunderers, but despoiled them of their own property also; and if complaint were made, the aggrieved party only drew upon himself additional chastisement. They suffered this in silence and in fear, "but it was most impatiently;" and if there had been any considerable body of their countrymen at hand, to have taken up their cause, the camp might soon have become a scene of bloodshed.‡

The first hostile operations were against the little

* Sueyro, 282. Monstrelet, 356. Barante, vi 392.
† Barante, 389. 393. ‡ Monstrelet, 357.

castle of Oye. The garrison consisted of some seventy soldiers, twelve of whom sold their lives dearly, — the rest yielded themselves to the duke's mercy. Unhappily he had given the place and the spoil to the Ghentese, and they immediately hung nine-and-twenty of the prisoners in front of the castle, and afterwards brought forth the remainder to suffer the same fate; but the duke interposed, offended with this inhumanity, and saved them.* The castle was rased. The whole army then proceeded to take post between the castle of Merk and Calais; and the duke, making an excursion before the town with his men-at-arms, obtained some advantage over a party of the garrison who sallied out against him; and his people drove away a large booty in cattle. The Picards then assaulted Merk, which was defended by sir John Gedding, with about 200 men. The outwork was carried: the garrison displayed the banner of St. George on the side toward Calais, rung all their bells, and added loud outcries, as if calling for speedy relief; but they prepared also manfully for defence. The assailants set a strong guard round the castle, lest they should escape during the night, and in the morning brought many great engines against the walls, damaged them in several places, and then Picards and Flemings made a joint attack. Three such assaults were effectually resisted, the English throwing down stones from the battlements, and making such good use of their bows, that the assailants were glad to retreat. This resistance was not protracted so long as to exasperate an enemy already but too much disposed to exercise their power with insolence and cruelty. When the garrison saw that no movement was making for their succour, they demanded a parley, and surrendered on the sole condition that they should not be injured in life or limb: they were sent to Ghent, there to be confined till they should be exchanged for any Flemings that might be taken. The common

* Holinshed, 187. Monstrelet says, that of this second party, twenty five in number, four or five only were respited at the duke's request Sueyro hangs them all, and seems to approve the execution *para exemplo y terror de los-que con poca gente se atrevian à tan grande exercito.*

men hurried into the fort for the spoil; but some of the Ghentese stationed themselves at the gates, and taking every thing from the spoilers as they went out, laid all in a heap, saying, that the sheriffs of Ghent had ordered them to do so: when night came, they loaded the whole in carts, and carried it off for themselves. In consequence of the complaints that were made, enquiry was instituted, and the offenders were brought before the sheriffs whose names they had abused, and they were sentenced to banishment from Ghent, and from the whole of Flanders, for fifty years. Yet, though these men were convicted of roguery against their countrymen, the sentence occasioned much murmuring, and had nearly produced a mutiny among the Flemings. Six men of that nation, and one Hollander, were found among the garrison: they were beheaded on the following day, and the fort was demolished.*

The army decamping, then fixed their quarters upon the ground where, it was pretended, Jacob van Arteveld had encamped during king Edward's siege of Calais. Some false tradition had, perhaps, been devised, with the view of encouraging the Flemings as by a good omen; for that demagogue had been murdered by the people a year before the siege.† The duke, with his knights and men-at-arms, pitched his tents nearer to the town. The day did not pass without a sharp skirmish, in which La Hire, who had distinguished himself when Joan of Arc was in her career of success, and who had just come to visit the duke, was wounded by an arrow in his leg. Many engines were planted to throw stones and balls into the tower: this was returned with interest from the ramparts; and after three vain assaults, the besiegers deemed it prudent to take up their quarters at a safer distance. Frequent sallies were made, and frequent skirmishes ensued, with various fortune, the Picards displaying great courage, even when they failed of success; but for the Flemings, the praise which Monstrelet be-

* Monstrelet, 359—361. Holinshed, 187.

† It is remarkable, that M. de Barante should have overlooked this, and repeated Monstrelet's statement.

stows upon them is, that they were not much afraid of the enemy, and thought if there were only three of them against one Englishman they should carry the day. The duke had two narrow escapes from death and from capture. One day, as he was reconnoitring, a cannon-ball killed four of his attendants close by; and shortly after, as he was riding along the coast to inspect some works which he had ordered to be constructed, he was saved from a party of English by the speed of his horse, and still more by the devoted fidelity of Jan van Platteels, who, instead of looking to his own safety, engaged the pursuers, and was taken prisoner, when he had the satisfaction of knowing that his master was in safety.*

Meantime, the sieur Jean de Croy, to whom the fortress of Balingen had surrendered on condition that the English should retire with part of their baggage, was ordered to besiege Guisnes. He got little profit there, says Holinshed, and did less harm. His force, however, was such, and his engines produced such effect upon the town, that the garrison thought it prudent to withdraw into the castle; and while that siege was prosecuted with little advantage, a detachment of the besiegers, under Robert de Saveuses, took the castle of Zantgate by capitulation, and regarrisoned it. All this while it was "a cooling card unto the Flemings, still to see ships from England arriving in the harbour openly, before their faces, laden with provisions, munition, and men." Their impatience, which, at first, vented itself in murmurs, broke out at length into loud complaints against the duke's council, and especially against admiral Jan van Horne, seneschal of Brabant. The duke appeased them with gentle words, fair representations, and hopeful expectations: the fleet, he said, would soon arrive; he had letters announcing this; and if the wind had not hitherto been against them they would have sailed sooner. It was even more mortifying to perceive that the English seemed to consider themselves as much masters of the land as of the sea, and that every day they turned out their cattle to

* Sueyro, 282. Monstrelet, 362. Holinshed, 188.

pasture as if in defiance of the besiegers. The Picards were such expert marauders, that this was not always done with impunity; and their occasional success exciting some little envy or emulation, about 200 of the Ghentmen, including some who were above the common rank, set out upon a forage in the marshes before Calais. They were seen from the town, and recognised by their dress: incontinently a sally was made; and the foragers were attacked with such vigour, that some twenty were slain, some thirty taken, and the rest fled to their quarters in all haste, and in such fear that they spread confusion in the camp. Want of discipline, indeed, was continually betrayed, to the grief and mortification of the duke. The Flemings were on the alert and under arms at the slightest alarm, or apprehension of alarm: any trifling occurrence, therefore, at any moment might set the whole army in motion, and the duke could do nothing to prevent this, or to establish a better order; "for these people," says Monstrelet, "would have every thing according to their own good pleasure."*

It was not long before a herald arrived from duke Humphrey, who delivered this bidding from his master, the duke of Gloucester, protector of England, to Philip duke of Burgundy; "that he would give him and his whole army battle where they then were, if they would tarry for his arrival; or if they decamped thence, that he would seek them in any other place within their own territories, wherever the duke might appoint, and that with speed, if God would vouchsafe him wind and weather." Philip of Burgundy made answer in the noble spirit of the times:—"Sir, say to your master, that his challenge is both honourable and reasonable; howbeit, he shall not need take the pains to seek me in my own country, for, God willing, he shall find me here till I have my will of the town, ready to abide him and all the power he can bring." After the herald had received this reply, he was treated with good cheer, and a cup with a hundred guilders was given him as a guer-

* Monstrelet, 364—366. Sueyro, 282.

don for his message. The duke had consulted only his own heart in returning this ready and becoming reply: he called a council on the morrow at the head quarters of the Flemings; and there, by master Gilles de la Voustine, his counsellor in the courts of Ghent, laid before the captains and nobles of Flanders the challenge which he had received, and his acceptance of it, entreating them, at the same time, as his true friends, to remain with him, and assist him in maintaining his honour. This they promised with unanimous good will; and when the news was divulged, the nobles, who were ambitious of renown, hastened from all the neighbouring places to his camp, in expectation of a glorious day.*

At the same council it was determined to erect a high and strong bastile upon an eminence near the town, for the twofold purpose of commanding from thence a view of the movements within the walls, and of impeding the sallies of the garrison. It was mounted with sundry pieces of cannon, and manned with 400 troops under experienced leaders; Robert de Saveuses, whose military deserts had obtained for him the appellation of *Le Bon*, being one. This was greatly to the displeasure of the English, and they lost no time in attacking the new work; but it was so well defended, and reinforcements came to its support in such strength, that the attempt failed, and they retreated into Calais, leaving some dead. Much skirmishing ensued on the morrow and the following days at the barriers: in one of these affairs, the sieur de Plateaux was made prisoner, a half-witted knight, who, notwithstanding his folly, was a brave and resolute man in battle. On the 25th of July a fleet was descried, making towards the port. The duke mounted his horse and rode to the shore, eager to be certified that it was his own naval force, which had been so long and anxiously expected. A light vessel advanced as near as the surf would permit, and a man, jumping into the water, assured him of the joyful fact. The tidings occasioned a jubilant commotion in his dis

* Holinshed, 188. Monstrelet, 367. Sueyro, 282.

orderly army; and so many hastened upon the downs, to enjoy the sight, that all the exertion of their captains was required to make as many as they could return for the defence of the camp.

The duke and his engineers had formed a notable project for blocking up the port. For this purpose six huge hulks had been filled with great square stones, well cemented, and, moreover, cramped with lead, "to the intent that they should lie still like a mount, and not sever in sunder." Four of these, on the evening that the fleet arrived, were conveyed to the mouth of the harbour and there sunk, the fleet meantime keeping up a constant fire upon the ships in the port, one of which went down in consequence. The other two stone ships, at the next full sea were, by the same craft and policy, sunk also. "But," says the English chronicler, "whether God would not that the haven should be destroyed, or that the conveyers of the hulks knew not the very channel, these ships, at low water, lay openly upon the sands." At ebb tide the English, women as well as men, hastened from the town, and working at the demolition with hearty good-will, pulled them to pieces, in spite of a continual fire from the ships, to the great astonishment, as Monstrelet observes, of the duke and his admirals, and carried both the stones and the timber into the town, to be used for strengthening their own fortifications.* The fleet, which had the mortification

* Monstrelet, 369. Holinshed, 188. Sueyro says (p 282.) fue gasto y trabajo inutil, pues quemando las los Ingleses se llevò los impedimentos la marea Deziam algunos que no havian acertado con el puerto, los mas se burlaron de la traza. — *Hall*, 182.

Had this story found its way into any popular history of England, the experiment would not have been repeated at Boulogne during the war with Buonaparte; but it had long been the fashion for modern historians to reject all the circumstances of history, and present little more than a *caput mortuum* of results That a first lord of the admiralty should have read Monstrelet or Holinshed was not to be expected, but it might have been expected that he would have known what the rise of the tide is upon that coast.

The port of Calais was closed in a more extraordinary manner in the year 1679. "The entrance," says Mr. Malcolm (Miscellaneous Anecdotes, p. 54.) "was so narrow that only one vessel could pass at a time, and not without considerable skill in the pilot, aided by the highest flow of the tide A ship from Amsterdam was entering under full sail, and received a violent shock, in consequence of which, the ship being repelled with great force, the crew moored in the roads, and waited for the next tide. They then

of seeing this extraordinary device thus frustrated, set sail for Holland on the morrow, because the seamen knew how dangerous it was to keep the sea on that station; and also because they dreaded still more the appearance of the English armament, which it was reported was on the point of sailing. But the Flemings looked upon this as a desertion on the admiral's part, and as a proof of treason in the duke's ministers; they had been assured before they left Flanders, they said, that Calais should be besieged by sea as well as by land, and see how they had been betrayed! With much difficulty the chiefs succeeded in pacifying them for the time; and when the duke convened the principal leaders of the commonalty to a grand council, and laid before them the whole plan of his intended operations, they seemed to be perfectly satisfied. He had ordered the ground to be examined by persons well acquainted with the country, and competent to such a task, and with their advice he had fixed upon a spot whereon to offer duke Humphrey battle, whenever he should arrive.

Hardly had the council in which the Flemings had thus resolutely concurred in the duke's brave determination been broken up, when the English sallied from the town in great force, and attacked the bastile: a cry went through the camp; all were in confusion, so little were they prepared for an alarm which ought always to have been expected: they hastened from all quarters to the defence, the duke himself hurrying there on foot; but horse as well as foot had sallied; and while the infantry attacked the work, the horsemen interposed between it and the disorderly multitude, and presented so formidable a front, that before any assistance could be given, it was taken by pure force. About eight score of the garrison were slain, the greater part of the

made a second attempt, with the same result, and some damage to the ship. The captain sent the long boat at low water to sound about the place where this unaccountable accident had happened. They found a full grown whale lying directly across the channel, dead, as if the first stroke from the ship had killed it; and the port was blocked up till it could be cut in pieces and removed."

rest were made prisoners; and because the Flemings had put to death an English knight, who fell into the hands of the Picards in this affair, half those prisoners were put to death before the gates in sight of the duke's army. The success was so complete that they carried away all the ordnance and other artillery; and the consequences were more important than the victors themselves could have thought possible; for mutinous assemblies were immediately held in the camp; absurd charges of treason were mingled with well-founded accusations of neglect or carelessness against their leaders; ferocious opinions were advanced, that certain of the duke's counsellors should be put to death; and a general resolution was declared that they would decamp at once, and return home without delay. No sooner was the duke aware of these movements than he repaired to the head-quarters of the Ghent army, and there convened a large body of these ungovernable subjects, and reminded them of the answer which, with their accord, he had returned to duke Humphrey's challenge, and of the resolution which that very morning they had taken to give the English battle whenever they should arrive, as it was certain that they soon must; and he entreated them not to decamp at such a time, as if they feared the enemy, for to do this would be indelibly to disgrace themselves, and to bring upon him such shame as never prince before him had incurred.

He knew their temper too well to employ any other language than that of entreaty; but even entreaties were vain; and any appeal to their sense of honour, and to their courage, was lost upon men who sought by their boldness in mutiny to conceal from others the fear which they really felt, and perhaps to disguise it from themselves. Some of the captains answered respectfully for their men, and endeavoured to excuse their conduct; but the men "little thanked them for this;" and, turning a deaf ear to all that the duke could urge, obstinately persisted in their purpose. "It need not," says Monstrelet, "be asked whether he was grieved at

heart, for hitherto he had succeeded in all his undertakings to his heart's desire, and now in this, which was the greatest of all his enterprises, he saw that he must fail." Even his repeated requests that they would wait for a few days only were of no avail: any day they thought might bring the English fleet in sight; and the duke was not more solicitous to tarry for its arrival than they were to be at safe distance when it should arrive. Convinced, too surely, at last, that all farther persuasions would be ineffectual, he asked them only to remain till the morrow, that they might pack up their baggage and retreat in good order, for the sake of their own safety; and that they might not be harassed by the enemy, he said that he would escort them as far as the river of Gravelines. With this they complied, though the greater number said they were in sufficient force not to need any escort. By way of employing the interval, some of the ringleaders intended to go to the duke's quarters, and there murder some of his counsellors, for having advised him to an enterprise which, in the manner they carried it on, never possibly could have been achieved. The persons whose lives were thus threatened heard of their danger in time; and, leaving the army unobserved while they could, made their way with some few attendants to Jean de Croy's detachment, which was before Guisnes. Their escape made this disorderly host more clamorous, and more eager to hasten from a position where they thought that if the enemy found them they should be exposed to certain destruction, either by the treachery or the incapacity of the duke's counsellors. The men of Ghent, who were the principals in this mutiny, began to strike their tents and load their baggage, and the rest of the army were not slow in following the example: the men of Bruges alone were displeased at the disgraceful determination which had been taken; and, though compelled to pursue the same course with their unworthy comrades, prepared for the retreat with less precipitation, and were resolved to leave behind them no

memorials of their own misconduct: the other Flemings abandoned their artillery and engines*, but the men of Bruges put theirs on carriages, and, for lack of horses, had them drawn by men. Many pipes of wine and of other liquors were staved, "to the great loss of the merchants:" many, however, were left, equally to their loss, but to the great contentment of the garrison of Calais, and of duke Humphrey's men. They set fire to their tents; and yet such was the hurry of their retreat, that many tents were left standing, and great booty and abundant stores were found in the forsaken camp.†

All that the duke could do was to protect this mutinous host from what might else have been the likely, as it would have been the just, consequence of their own disobedience and indiscipline. He covered their retreat in person with his men-at-arms; and forming thus a rear-guard, which secured them against any sally from the garrison, followed them to Gravelines, where, their panic being somewhat abated, they quartered themselves upon the same spot which they had occupied before their bootless siege. There Jean de Croy joined him with the troops from before Guisnes, pursuant to his orders. He, too, had left his stores and engines on the ground, for want of means for transporting them, and his retreat had been insulted by the garrison.‡ The duke now called his lords to council: their first business was to give him consolation, mortified as he was, and complaining bitterly of the disgrace thus brought upon him: he had, however, no worse fault wherewith to reproach himself than the imprudence of having relied upon a people who were so little to be trusted, but severe

* Sueyro mentions two guns, belonging one to Leyden and the other to Haarlem, and named Hoppenbier and Swertegriete. Holinshed, among "the many fair pieces of ordnance found in the camp," mentions "specially one called Dijon, so named after the chief town of Burgundy."

† Monstrelet, 372—377.

‡ Monstrelet says they were hardly pressed, and must have been compelled to surrender in a few days if the Burgundians had remained; but he forgot that in a few days duke Humphrey would have arrived; and Holinshed says, that the orders to raise the siege were to Jean de Croy, "very joyous, for he neither got nor saved."

reflections were made upon those persons by whose advice the expedition had been undertaken. They recommended him to store and strengthen all his frontier towns, seeing that he might surely expect the English would invade him in their turn; and for himself, it was their opinion that he should retire to one of the towns in the interior, from whence he might repair wherever his presence should be most needed. Some of the nobles and chosen men-at-arms remained, by his desire, in Gravelines: if that place were taken, the duke said, it would be very injurious to the whole country; and he pledged his word that if they should want assistance there he would come to their succour, cost what it would. Others went to Ardres, and to the towns and castles in the Boulonnois. Yet, when the council broke up, and before their chiefs departed to their respective stations, the duke made one more appeal to the soldiers, and entreated them to wait a few days longer, for the sake of his honour and their own. This having failed, he left them, and went to Lisle, from whence he issued a proclamation, requiring that all persons who had been accustomed to bear arms should hold themselves in readiness to march against the English, who were about to land at Calais.*

Chagrined as he was at the ignominious result of an enterprise so important in itself, he could not, however, but be conscious that if his own people had not compelled him to break up the siege, nothing could have saved such an army from the most shameful defeat and rout. Duke Humphrey arrived so soon after their departure that he partook of the spoils of the camp: he came with a fleet of some 300 sail, and with not less than 20,000 men, a formidable army, considering of what materials it was composed—English archers and men-at-arms, and knights. He marched into the enemy's country, and, making no attempt upon any of the fortified places, swept the land before him of its cattle and all movable spoil. Seven thousand men were

* Monstrelet, 377—382.

collected at Cassel to oppose him; but when they saw his strength, they were thankful for the protection that their position afforded them, and let the invaders pursue their career unmolested. Some Flemish exiles were in the English army, who served as guides, and took cruel, and perhaps indiscriminating, vengeance for themselves. Six weeks they persevered in a course of warfare more destructive than honourable, burning houses, and villages, and open towns, and the suburbs of such as were fortified, and destroying the country in every part; but duke Humphrey possessed no such military talent as his brothers, Henry V., and Exeter, and John of Bedford. By some strange neglect, he had neither taken with him sufficient store of bread, nor made arrangements for being supplied with it, near as he was, during the whole incursion, to his resources; and to the want of this customary aliment a sickness in the army was ascribed, which proved more destructive than the enemy's sword. "Many good women," says Monstrelet, "saved their houses by giving bread, and even got cattle in return for it;" for the marauders were driving off more than they knew how to keep, or where to water. This want of bread and the mortality among his people compelled him to return, when, in Hall's honest words, he "had sufficiently plagued and wasted the countries of the duke of Burgoyne." Two thousand cart-loads of booty were brought to Guisnes and Calais, besides such prisoners as were able to ransom themselves.*

The English fleet, meantime, which had debarked the troops, proceeded along the Flemish coast. The principal towns, in hasty alarm, remanded the men who had been disbanded, and a considerable force, well provided with artillery, was marched towards Biervliet, and encamped near the sea, for the protection of the coast. The duke left them, as he had left the people of the interior, to their own measures and their own

* Monstrelet, 385—387. Sueyro, 284—285. Hall, 184.

means of defence, being not unwilling that his enemies should take vengeance for him upon his disobedient subjects.* The English had no troops on board, and contented themselves with as much mischief as the sailors could commit, without exposing themselves by venturing inland, or endangering the ships. The Hollanders' fleet was at this time wind-bound in Sluys: their admiral, Jan van Horne, repaired to Furnes and Nieuport, to take measures for the defence of the coast; but the people, upon a false suspicion of collusion with the English, attacked and murdered him and a faithful servant, who defended him to the last. In Walcheren, the inhabitants found that they had done wisely in having refused to commit any act of hostility against England: they were now treated as friends in return, and carried on a profitable trade in provisions with the fleet. Once while the fleet was wind-bound at Cadsant, the men landed in the western part of that district called Het Vrye, or the Free Land of Bruges, and destroyed several villages there, when the men of the eastern part, with some troops from the ships at Sluys, to the amount of 4000 in all, gathered together and marched against them. Cut off as the invaders were from all succour, the Flemings might have overpowered them, if they had not posted themselves strongly in the polder of Breskens, and there presented so brave a front, that the Vryelanders, when they approached near enough to see what reception would be given them, forsook their standards, threw down their arms, and fairly, or rather foully, took to flight.†

Having landed near Hulst, with the hope of plundering that then rich place, the English were compelled to reimbark by the inhabitants and the people of the Pays de Waes, Axel, and Honteness, whom they had called to their support. The expedition, however, effected its object: it alarmed the coast, while duke Humphrey ravaged the interior; and having done this, it returned to England, leaving the duke of Burgundy

* Sueyro, 285. † Idem, 289.

sufficiently employed with his turbulent subjects.—When the men of Ghent came back, after their disgraceful retreat from Calais, they demanded of the magistrates a new suit for every one, according to custom: the magistrates had spirit enough to refuse this insolent demand, and to tell them, in reply, that by their conduct in deserting their prince they had much better entitled themselves to a halter. The bitter reproof was borne with: some sense of shame, perhaps, withheld the troops from resenting what they were conscious of having deserved. Yet when the duke soon afterwards came to Ghent, hoping that by his presence he might engage that city to support him against Bruges, which was then in open rebellion, the people brought out their banners into the great market-place, in menacing array, and called upon him, as soon as he entered, to explain to them the causes of the retreat from Calais, and demanded wherefore that town had not been besieged by sea, in conformity to the plan which had been agreed on? The duke felt how necessary it was to conciliate them, lest they should unite with the insurgents, who were using every means to strengthen themselves by such a confederacy. He stated to them, therefore, what the circumstances were which had rendered it impossible for the admiral to arrive earlier with the fleet, or to continue off the port after his arrival: indeed, he said, every seaman knew that to besiege Calais on the sea side was impossible, by reason of the danger of being driven on shore; moreover, the Hollanders had not assisted him with shipping, according to their promise. Their next question was, wherefore the English fleet had not been burnt, seeing that men and vessels had been collected at Sluys for that express service? The reply to this was, that they had been wind-bound in the harbour during the whole fifteen days that the enemy was on that coast. The men of Ghent were somewhat conciliated by the temper in which he listened to them, and the satisfactory replies which were given to some of their demands; but, in order to make them satisfied

both with him and with themselves, he found it necessary publicly to declare that he laid no blame to them for the breaking up of the siege, and that this had been done by his permission and with his orders. "They were most desirous," says Monstrelet, "to have their disgrace wiped away, because they knew full well that all cried shame on them." Yet a little while afterwards they murdered Gilbert Pactetent, the head dean of the trades, upon an absurd imputation of having prevented the storming of Calais, and of having acted treasonably in making so little use of their guns and other engines during the siege * ! • •

The duke at this time, because of his breach with England, was fain not only to flatter the men of Ghent, but to make such terms with those of Bruges, as, by allowing impunity for recent outrages of the most audacious kind, ensured a repetition of them upon the first discontent that might arise. After a second insurrection, in which the townsmen attacked him the streets of Bruges, killed above an hundred of his men, beheaded more than thirty whom they took prisoners, and hung and quartered an honest blacksmith, for lending his hammer to break open the gate, that the duke might make his escape; the people were made sensible of their fault by the miseries of anarchy which they had brought upon themselves; and now, instead of urging the Ghent men to join with them in rebellion, they entreated them to mediate in their behalf. This left the duke at leisure for another attempt against the English, the disgrace of his former expedition stinging him to new efforts. During his siege of Calais the seneschal of Ponthieu, Florimont de Brimen, had entrapped the garrison of Crotoy into an ambuscade, taken the town by storm, and unsuccessfully besieged the castle. Crotoy stands about a league from the mouth of the Somme, on the opposite side to St. Valery; and after the siege was raised the English carried on an aquatic warfare from

A. D. 1437.

* Monstrelet, 388—392. Sueyro, 186-7. Monstrelet, viii. 9.

thence against the people of Abbeville, harassing them, and more especially the poor fishermen, with two flat-bottomed boats, called gabarres; and thus they commanded or infested the river, till, the Abbeville men stealing down the stream by night, some expert swimmers fastened grappling irons to the unguarded gabarres, and they were towed away, " to the vexation of the English."* The seneschal, and the sieur d'Auxy, who was commander on that frontier, were erroneously informed that the garrison would not be able to hold out more than a month for want of provisions; and upon this report they assembled a force, and fixed their quarters in front of the castle, within the old enclosure of the town, the fortifications of which they had demolished before they withdrew from it in the preceding year. Abbeville readily supplied stores and money, being very desirous to be relieved from so ill a neighbour; but the castle, as they had before experienced, was " wondrous strong;" and therefore, when they apprised the duke of their undertaking, they required his support. Some of his household, whom he sent to enquire into the probabilities of success, reported that the castle could not possibly be reduced by famine, unless the mouth of the river was blockaded. Upon this he ordered the governors of St. Valery, Dieppe, and the adjoining sea-ports to engage as many vessels as they could for the purpose, and appointed Jean de Croy to command the siege; an undertaking for which he was peculiarly qualified, because he had once been governor of Crotoy. The duke did wisely in not assuming the command, and exposing himself to the disgrace of a second failure. Perhaps he did not deem the enterprise of sufficient importance to be carried on in his own person, for he seems to have taken no other lesson from experience. He went to inspect the siege, and, as at Calais, gave orders for erecting a large bastille, or blockhouse, that the besiegers might be secure in their quarters. It was constructed under the direction of sir Baudo de

* Monstrelet, vii. 384.

Noyelle, a knight of the Golden Fleece, and was very strongly built, and surrounded with ditches: other works also were erected, and the whole well stored with ammunition and provisions. Having given this order, the duke departed; and his hopes were heightened by the result of a skirmish, in which the lieutenant-governor was taken prisoner by the sieur d'Auxy.*

When the king of England and his council were informed of these preparations, "they were not well pleased thereat," knowing how important the possession of Crotoy was to them, for facilitating the landing of a force in Picardy. It was not, however, necessary to fit out an armament for its relief: instructions were sent to Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who was then regent of France, and he despatched some 5000 men, horse and foot, from Normandy, under lord Talbot, lord Falconbridge, and sir Thomas Kiriel. Their intended movement was no sooner made known to the duke than he summoned from Picardy and his other dominions the greater part of his nobles and men-at-arms. Monstrelet estimates them at 800 or 1000 †: it is not likely that he could draw any force from Flanders at that time, and the Flemings were not the only vassals who failed him. He went in person with the count d'Estampes, his nephew of Clèves, and the count de St. Pol. At Hêdin sir John of Luxemburg joined him, as he had been summoned; but he came honourably and manfully to declare that he could not bear arms against the English, because he had not formally renounced his oath of alliance with them. It was in vain that the duke endeavoured to shake his resolution; representing that, as his vassal, he was bound to him also by an oath; that he wore his order, and had always been of his party, and could not honourably refuse to serve him, especially as it was to repulse enemies who had invaded his dominions. Luxemburg

* Monstrelet, viii. 49—51.

† Hall says 10,000 men and more, with great plenty of guns and goodly ordinance.

remained firm to his purpose; and the ground on which he rested was so valid, that he obtained from the duke letters of remission, and returned home accordingly.*

The duke was then left inferior in numbers to the force which was advancing from Normandy; but that which he had with him consisted of experienced men-at-arms. He arrived with them at Abbeville a day before the English reached the abbey of St. Valery, where they quartered themselves. He reinforced the town with stores of every kind; so that the townsmen, when asked whether they thought themselves able to hold out in case they should be besieged, replied in full confidence of so doing. His plan was, not to make any engagement for giving battle on an appointed day, but to avoid a general action, to guard all the defiles and fords, cut off the supplies of the enemy, and attack them in their quarters, or wherever they should find them at advantage; a plan more prudently laid than steadily pursued. Expecting them to pass at the ford of Blanchetaque, he prepared for defending that passage with cannon and other engines: Talbot, therefore, directed his march toward another ford, which had been left unprotected, perhaps because it was more difficult.

Some three or four hundred of the English, as soon as they had fixed their quarters in the abbey, crossed the river at a ford above Crotoy, and foraged the whole of the country round the newly erected blockhouse, and even as far as the town of Rue, making some men at arms prisoners, with their horses and baggage, and meeting with nothing to oppose them. Very early on the morrow the whole army marched, and forded the river in good order, the water, when half the infantry crossed, being mid-deep.† They drew up, on an eminence above the town, in battle array. This was in sight of the blockhouse; and the besiegers, expecting now themselves to be besieged, made preparations for a brave defence.

* Monstrelet, 51—53.
† Hall says "the men went in the water up to the chin, so glad were they to rescue their fellows."

Many were created knights on this occasion: one of them is designated as the tall bastard of Renty; but it does not appear that he acquitted himself as "a tall man" in the sequel. But the English had no intention of giving the enemy the advantage of their works: they advanced to Forest Monstier, some six miles off, quartered themselves there awhile, and afterwards at La Broye, a large village on the Authie, which was full of provisions, and from whence they forgaged all around. On their departure, they burnt the village, and advanced to Auxi, from thence also foraging in small parties, and in all directions, without encountering the slightest opposition. It seems as if the duke had learnt so well what the courage of the English was, when he was in alliance with England, that he entertained a proper respect for it ever after. He remained in Abbeville himself; and, instead of watching, as he had intended, for any opportunity of harassing the enemy, he distributed his men among the principal towns and castles in that part of his territories. And, beginning now to have some misgiving, lest the blockhouse which he had constructed before Crotoy should do as little credit to its defenders as that which he had built before Calais, he sent Jean de Croy and the bailiff of Amiens to inspect it, and ascertain whether the garrison were disposed to defend it gallantly. So far, however, was this from being the prevailing sentiment, that it was soon perceived they wished to be any where else, provided they could get away without loss of honour. Disappointed as the duke was in his hopes, and perhaps in his expectations, by this report, he wished, for his own credit as well as for theirs, that they should leave the place like soldiers: he determined, therefore, with the advice of his ministers, that the stores should be packed up, and the men at arms retreat with them and the artillery to the town of Rue, after setting fire to the blockhouse. "The garrison, however," says Monstrelet, "made no such honourable retreat." The greater part of them mutinied against their chiefs, without any rea-

sonable cause, and, leaving not only the artillery, stores, and baggage, but most of their armour also, fled rather than marched to Rue, the English from Crotoy shouting after them, "as they would have done to a ribald mob." The only part of the duke's instructions which they observed was, that they secretly set fire to the outwork, and the flames, communicating to the blockhouse, consumed it. The captains, among whom were some of the most tried and approved men in the duke's service, had no alternative but to make the best of their way, first to Rue, and thence to other places under their obedience. Much blame was cast upon the knights and esquires of Picardy for their shameful retreat: they excused themselves by throwing the blame upon the archers. The English, whose prudence in not attacking the bastille was fully proved by this event, seeing that the object of their expedition was effected, moved from Auxi, "which was a fair and considerable place," and burnt it to the ground. The great object was accomplished; but while Kiriel, having victualled Crotoy for twelve months with the stores which the besiegers had abandoned, carried the ordnance and carriages which he had captured into Normandy, Talbot sent word to the duke that Picardy should be laid waste, unless he would come forth like a valiant prince and give him battle. The duke knew his enemy too well to accept of such an invitation; he withdrew from Abbeville to Amiens, and Talbot carried his threat into execution, "destroying and burning all that he could see or come to" in that county and in the Artois; till, satisfied with havoc, he re-crossed the Somme at the same place where he had before forded, and returned into Normandy, carrying away many prisoners, much cattle, and much plunder. The only loss which the English had suffered was that some thirty or forty of their foragers had been caught when straggling, and hanged.*

The duke, thus baffled a second time, and not with-

* Monstrelet, 54—59. Hall, 188. Holinshed, 192.

out loss of reputation, retired to Hesdin.* This second failure made him, like an angry gamester, more bent upon a further trial of his fortune. After deliberating upon many plans, he ordered the count d'Estampes and Antoine de Croy, with 5000 men, to enter the county of Guisnes, and break down the principal dyke in those parts, in expectation that, even if he should not succeed in drowning the town of Calais and the surrounding country, he should at least reduce it to such a condition that the English would be compelled to abandon it. Some engineers were so unskilful that they persuaded him this might be effected: the labourers, however, of whom a great number had been brought together, had not been long employed before they discovered that no inundation which could ever be brought about by such means would either endanger the loss of the place or annoy the garrison. The silly enterprise, therefore, was given over after they had broken down the bridge of Nieulay, and some smaller dykes†, which were easily repaired.

A. D. 1438.

A truce, which had been "taken for a small time, and for a less observed," scarcely interrupted the course of these hostilities. But the duchess of Burgundy, a wise and good princess, nearly akin to the reigning house of Plantagenet, used all her endeavours to bring about a peace with England. The duke's hopes of aggrandising himself by the war were abated, and the more industrious part of his subjects suffered severely from the stoppage of their cloth manufactures, no wool being imported from England. Ypres felt this especially. Men were thrown out of work and bread, in a time of extreme dearth. Smuggling no doubt had its beginning as soon as custom-house duties were imposed. There existed at this time a law by which all manner of merchandise, whether entering the realm of England or going out, should be forfeited if it were landed or

* "Haviendo," says Sueyro, "gastado inutilmente tanto en los aparejos, — en que se hechava bien de ver, que le estuviera mejor a Phelipe no separarse del Ingles; pues con tener en su campo la gente mas escogida, y los capitanes mas insignes, — volvio con menos reputacion a Hesdin." P. 302–3.

† Monstrelet, 113, 114. Sueyro, 307.

put on board in creeks and small landing places, instead of the great ports, except when vessels had been driven into such creeks "by cohersion of tempest of the sea." * But as the facilities of smuggling are in proportion to the degree of intercourse between the countries concerned, the supply of any bulky commodity which could be introduced must in those days have been very inconsiderable. Already the warlike governments of Europe had begun to make war upon the resources of an enemy by impeding his commerce; what had always been practised as the law of the strongest being now directly regarded as a measure of policy. This, of course, led to the fabrication of false papers and forged passports; and when an enemy's ship was brought into an English port, false witnesses were provided to swear that the goods on board were neutral property. This being "to the great hinderance of the captors and abashment of the courage of the king's liege people," an act was passed that all goods taken in an enemy's ship should be considered as legal prize for the three years ensuing, and longer if it should please the king, "insomuch," the law stated, "that it is not contrary to the league made between him and some of his allies." † Four years afterwards this law was modified, and alien merchants were allowed to lade enemy's ships, provided the masters, owners, or merchants of the said ships took out letters patent of the king's safe-conduct, surety, and safeguard. ‡ It was soon found that such letters patent were forged as easily as false papers; and it was then enacted that they should be of no avail unless they were enrolled in the king's chancery; the reason assigned for this being, that by the fraudulent practices which it was intended to suppress, the king's enemies were greatly enriched, and their navies strongly increased, while the navy and merchandise of the realm greatly diminished; whereas, "if people of the king's amity were feared and dis-

* 4 Hen. 6. c. 20. † 14 Hen. 6. c. 7. ‡ 18 Hen. 6. c. 8.

couraged from freighting the ships of her enemies, their navy in time to come would be decreased, diminished, and that of her subjects and friends increased and enlarged." * It became a contest of commercial regulations between the duke of Burgundy and the English government, after more active hostilities had ceased, the duke being engaged in turmoils with his own subjects, and with the marauders whom the French king encouraged to provide for themselves upon his neighbour's territories, and the English seeking to maintain their ground in France, not to make conquests on the side of Artois or Flanders. The prohibition of English cloth in Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zeeland was a measure which the duke thought would injure England, and encourage his own manufactories: an ordinance, therefore, was published to this effect, and strictly enforced; and whatever English cloths were found were seized and forfeited. When a truce at length was made between the two powers, it was stipulated that this prohibition should be revoked: nevertheless, it was continued to be enforced, and that notwithstanding letters from the English government and demands of redress. At length they passed an act declaring, that unless this ordinance was repealed before the ensuing Michaelmas, no manner of merchandise or goods, of the growing or workmanship of the countries which the duke possessed, should be imported into England, on pain of forfeiture; the ordinance, it was said in the act, being "to the intolerable damage of all the commons of this realm, because many clothmakers, that is to say, men weavers, fullers, and dyers, and women websters, carders, and spinners, and others who were buyers and sellers of the materials in their various stages, had no other occupation; and being deprived of this, to which of very necessity they were constrained for their living, were driven, by idleness and distress, to sin and evil life." † The act was re-enacted in the ensuing year.

A. D. 1439.

The English had not yet turned their arms against

* 20 Hen. 6. c. 1. † Sueyro, 314. 27 Hen. 6. c. 1.

each other; nor, though the tide of fortune had turned against them in France, had they lost any of their military renown, or abated any thing of their pretensions. But their naval force appears to have been neglected; and while the three great powers of England, France, and Burgundy were eagerly engaged in the continental war, the trade of piracy flourished. A certain Hannequin Leeuw, who had been banished from Ghent for his misdeeds, took to this course, and pursued it with such success that he got together a squadron of eight or ten vessels, well armed and stored. He not only infested the coast of Flanders and Holland, and the English Channel, but scoured the coast of Spain, and even proceeded as far as the Straits of Gibraltar, making war indiscriminately upon all nations, and calling himself the Friend of God and the Enemy of all mankind. This wretch escaped the vengeance of man; but he, and, as it appears, the greater part, if not the whole, of his people, perished in a storm at sea.* The Easterlings, among whom the piratical spirit was still continued down from the days of the Vikingar, provoked at length the Hollanders and Zeelanders. They had been warned by one of their own people, more far-sighted than themselves, not to rouse the lion; for if he was so far awakened as to feel his strength, he would be provoked to use it! Instead of listening to this counsel, they pursued their depredations, laughed at the demand of 50,000 florins for reparation, when it was made in the name of his countrymen by the burgomaster of Amsterdam; and, when they were required to choose between such amends and open war, made choice of fire and sword. Upon this the Hollanders and Zeelanders united their forces, sent a fleet to sea, and gave the Easterlings a great defeat, taking twenty of their ships, besides three vessels laden with salt and other commodities from Prussia, and a rich Venetian carrack in their company. This action was more important in its consequences than in itself: it made

* Monstrelet, vii. 347. Sueyro, 281.

the two provinces sensible, for the first time, of their maritime strength, and gave a new impulse to that spirit of maritime adventure which they had recently begun to manifest. Till of late the Zeelanders had confined their trade to the northern and eastern ports, and to those of their French and English neighbours: a voyage to Spain had been considered among them to be so perilous, that whosoever undertook it settled his worldly and his spiritual affairs as if preparing for death *, before he set forth: from this time they carried on a brisk trade with Spain and Portugal. Till now they had borne the insults of the Easterlings as the weaker party: after this victory they retaliated upon them, attacked and captured one of their admirals off the coast of Norway, hoisted a besom at the mast-head, in token that they had swept the seas; and, if their own chroniclers may be believed on such a subject, showed themselves as much superior to their enemies in the generous treatment of their prisoners as they had proved themselves to be in war.† But this redeeming virtue can have belonged only to individuals: it is certain that those who were engaged in this predatory warfare soon made no distinction between friend and foe, considering all as fair prize upon which they could lay strong hand. Under pretext of making war upon the Easterlings, the admiral Hendrick van Borselen, lord of Veere, entertained all the pirates and outlaws whom he could gather together, and carried on his depredations with equal audacity and address. The booty which he obtained enabled him to add largely to his possessions in Walcheren, by the purchase ‡ of confiscated estates; while he received others as grants from the duke, who thought it prudent, at any cost, to retain in his service, or at least in the profession of obedience, one who could render himself so destructive an enemy. This did not prevent the admiral—for he held that rank under the

* Chronicle of Zeoland by Jan Reygersbergh van Cortgene, quoted by Sueyro, ii. 312.

† D'oude Chronijcke van Holland, Zeeland, &c. Dordrecht, 1620. p. 462.

‡ Tegenwoordige Staat der Vereenigde Nederlanden, x. 144, 145

duke — from infesting the coast of Flanders, carrying off cattle from Cadsant, and selling them publicly in Zeeland. His excuse was, that the terrible character of his men compelled him to act as he did; and the duke admitted the exculpation, being fain to overlook outrages which he could neither prevent nor punish.*

A. D. 1441. It was long since any sea rovers had infested England so boldly. A statute† of this time sets forth that the poor merchants of this realm were daily robbed by the king's enemies, not only upon the sea, but in divers rivers and ports within the same realm, their ships and goods captured, their bodies taken and imprisoned with great duress, and put to great fines and ransoms: nor was this all; for "the king's poor subjects dwelling nigh the sea coasts were taken out of their own houses, with their chattels and children, and carried by the enemies where it pleased them." In consequence of these complaints, the commons prayed the king to take order for the safe keeping of the sea; and represented that the least purveyance which could be made for his worship and the defence of the realm was to have upon the sea, from Candlemas to Martinmas, eight ships with four stages, carrying one with the other 150 men each. Every great ship was to have in its company a barge, with eighty men, and a ballinger, with forty; and there were also to be four pinnaces, with twenty-five men in each. They advised also that there "should be named eight knights and worthy esquires of the west, of the south, and of the north, so that no country should be displeased;" from these the king should choose such one as him liked to be chief captain, and the other seven should act under him, so that every great ship should have a captain on board. They named such ships‡ as seemed to them proper for this service, and advised that when "stuffed and arrayed

* Sueyro, 313, 314. † 20 Hen. 6. c. 1.

‡ They were the Nicholas of the Tower, at Bristol, the Katharine of the Burtows, at Dartmouth, and the Spanish ship that was the Lord Pouns (Poines), at the same port; Sir Philip Courtney's ship, at the port of London, and the Trinity, of the same port; at Hull, the Thomas, and that called Taurners, named Grace à Dieu; and the George at Newcastle.

they should assemble in the Humber," there to obey such rule and governance as by their captains and under-captains should to them be ordained; and their muster to be seen by certain persons deputed thereto by the king's commission. In case any of the ships, barges, ballingers, or pinnaces named for this service should not be in England, or not in the port specified, or otherwise not to be had, the captain, or, in his absence, the under-captain, the esquire, to the ship so wanting should have full power to choose another like and fitting ship in its place. Proclamation was to be made in the said navy, that no harm or hurt was to be done by it to any ship of our friends, whereby any trouble or breaking of peace might fall between the king and his friends. When they brought any prize into port, neither goods nor ships might be *disperbled* till it had been duly ascertained whether they were enemy's property or friend's; but this proof was to be

The eight barges were to be one of Harry Russell's at Weymouth; one of sir Philip Courtney's; the Manlake at Plymouth; the Mary of Morsores, and the Pratt, both at Winchelsea; the Valentine of de Bewfitz and Berlynes at London; the Slags at Saltash; and a barge without a name at Falmouth.

One of the ballingers was at Newcastle, and one was sir Philip Courtney's, who seems to have been a great shipowner, the Palmers of sir William Bouvill at Fowey; and one with the unaccountable name of Pygfygg, belonging to Wards and Cooks at Dover. The other three were at Southampton, at St. Osyth's in Essex, and at London.

One of the pinnaces was Harry Russell's; one was at Hastings, the other two at Dartmouth.

The wages of the men two shillings each per month; their victualling fourteen pence per week, the estimated cost in food and wages for six months 5168*l.*; and for eight months yearly following, during the grant of the subsidies for two years upon wines and merchandise imported and exported, 6890*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*

The names are here given as Mr. Bree has printed them, who evidently has often failed in deciphering the manuscripts before him. There is a paper in Rymer, which probably relates to one of the ships enumerated in the list; and certainly to the builder. It is dated 1449, and states that John Taverner, of Kingston upon Hull, had built a ship adeo magnam sicut magnam carrakam seu majorem (quæ quidem navis Grace Dieu nuncupatur) ad præsens in portu nostro Londoniæ existentem. Because of its size the king granted him permission to call it also the Grace Dieu, and to freight it with wool, tin, pelles agninas, pelles lanatas, passelarges, et alia coria tam fresca quam tannata, and any other merchandise; paying duties for them, and exporting them through the Straits of Morocco to the ports of Italy, and bringing back bow-staves, wax, and such other things as were valde necessariæ in this kingdom. Rymer, xi. 258.

These are the earliest notices of a name which became under the Tudors so well known in the navy.

made within six weeks after the havening of the vessel. Half the amount of the prize should belong to the masters of the ships, quarter-masters, shipmen, and soldiers; the other half to be divided into three parts, of which two belonged to the owners of the fleet, and the other to the chief captain and under-captain, the chief captain having two parts of this share, and the under one.* No portion was claimed for the crown; perhaps it was considered as having no claim, when none of the ships belonged to it.

The seas seem to have been better kept while this armament was maintained. An incident of nearly the same date may serve to show the insecure position of foreigners in this country, and the dangers to which they were exposed, not merely in any outbreak of the rabble, but by the uncharitable temper of the people. A petition was presented to "the wise and discreet commons of this land in parliament, showing that some Genoese ships, with many Saracens covertly on board, had entered the harbour at Rhodes, under the flag of knights hospitallers; that their object had been to give the said Saracens good knowledge of the entries into that isle, and that they had committed depredations there upon ships, persons, and cattle, to the great reproach of all Christians, and great hurt and disworship of the master and brethren of the convent of Rhodes; wherefore the petitioners prayed the commons, in their wise discretion, to pray the king and the lords spiritual and temporal, that all the Genoese in this land might be held in such reputation and conceit as enemies to the Christian people, succourers and helpers to the enemies of the Christian faith and miscreants; and, moreover, to purvey such remedy and punishment against their demerits and evil purpose as might be pleasant to God, profit and ease to Christian people, honour and worship to this land, and surety and salvation to our holy religion, for the love of God, and in the way of charity." The answer to this address was, that the king, when

A. D. 1441.

* Bree's Cursory Sketch, 115—118.

he should be more fully informed, would demean himself herein as a Christian prince ought to do, in keeping of the Christian faith.* A few years afterwards, a report prevailed that a Bristol merchant, Sturmyn by name, who had travelled with his ship in divers parts of the Levant and of the East, had obtained some green pepper and other spice, with the intention of having them set and sown in England; and that the Genoese, knowing this, had waited for him upon the sea, and spoiled his ship and those in his company. Fabyan, by whom this is related, says, "it is full like to be untrue that the Genoese should spoil him for any such cause; for there is no nation that dealeth so little with spices." But, with whatever pretext, an outrage had been committed, for which all the Genoese merchants in London were committed to the Fleet, till they had given sufficient bond to answer the demand, amounting to 6000 marks.†

England was at this time "unquieted" by factions, which were then ripening apace for civil war; and France "sore defaced by spoil, slaughter, and burning." The other princes of Christendom "travelled effectuously" to bring about peace between the two countries. A diet was appointed at Tours; ambassadors were sent thither from the emperor, from Spain, from Denmark, and from Hungary, to be mediators. "The assembly," says the chronicler, "was great, but the cost was much greater, insomuch that every part, for the honour of their prince and praise of their country, set forth themselves, as well in fare as apparel, to the uttermost." The meetings ended in a truce by sea and by land for eighteen months, which was afterwards prolonged to the year 1449‡; and meantime Suffolk concluded for his imbecile king that impolitic marriage which in its

A. D. 1443.

* [illegible], 846. This compiler supposes the petition to have come from the clergy, and says it refers to "a generous interference of England in a cause not immediately her own, but that of all Christendom!"

† Fabyan, [illegible]. This occurred in 1458. In 1460 a truce was made with Genoa for three years, and among the articles specified as lawfully to be introduced on either side are books. Rymer, xi. 441

‡ Holinshed, iii. 206.

consequences completed the ruin of the English cause in France. The truce soon ran out, and the old course of depredation and havoc was renewed.

There had been statutes * passed to restrict the admirals and their deputies from intermeddling with things not within their proper jurisdiction, which they, it seems, were desirous of extending from the seas and ports as far as their power could reach. It was now enacted †, that for any offence committed by the king's subjects upon the seas, or in any port within the realm under the king's obeisance, against any strangers who were either in amity, league, or truce with England, or had the king's safe-conduct or safeguard in any wise, the chancellor might immediately proceed against the offenders, and cause full restitution to be made or just redress. But little could amity, league, or truce avail the merchant in those times, or any other safe-conduct than what he carried with him in the strength of his ship and the courage and fidelity of his company. Just as, in former times, when any tumult arose in London, the Jews were the immediate objects of violence; so, now, the rabble, upon any like occasion, attacked the foreign merchants, "and them spoiled, robbed, and rifled, without reason or measure." It was not the rabble only that were implicated in these outrages: the weight of capital punishment fell upon them alone, but "diverse great fines were set on the heads of divers merchants, and paid, for winking at the matter." ‡ Jealousy of the foreigner's profits had actuated them; and they ought to have been punished with as much severity as the ignorant wretches whom they instigated or encouraged.

A. D. 1452.

1456.

Amid the wars and rumours of wars with which the nations were now afflicted, the most absurd prodigy that ever found a serious relater is recorded at this time. "In the month of November," says Holinshed, "in the Isle of Portland, not far from the town of Weymouth, was seen a cock coming out of the sea,

1457.

* 13 Rich. 2 c. 5. 2 Hen. 4. c. 11. † 31 Hen. 6. c. 4.
‡ Holinshed, 243—244. Hall, 235.

having a great crest upon his head, and a great red beard, and legs of half a yard long: he stood on the water and crowed four times, and every time turned about and beckoned with his head toward the north, the south, and the west; and was of colour like a pheasant, and when he had crowed three times he vanished away." * But no portents, either of earth, sea, or sky, were needed in those days to warn any who possessed the slightest forethought against the evils to come. The French, "much desiring to be revenged of old displeasures and great damages, thought to take advantage of those civil dissensions by which the strength of England was distracted; and with that view they appointed two navies to invade and depopulate the towns and ports adjoining to the rivage of the sea." The one, which carried 4000 men-at-arms and archers, was commanded by Pierre de Brezé, sieur de Varenne, and comte de Maulévrier, and seneschal of Normandy, with whom was the bailey of Evreux, Robert de Flocques. The other was under the sieurs de la Fosse and de l'Eure. Both sailed from Honfleur, one a few days after the other, late in August; the former and earlier taking an eastward, the latter a westerly direction. The latter ventured little, and did less; and having burnt a few houses some where on the south coast, by night, returned with small booty to Bretagne. The former made for Sandwich, upon certain intelligence that the town was neither fortified nor manned, the chief persons having a little before withdrawn, "to avoid the pestilential plague which sorely there infected and slew the people." Early on a Sunday morning they landed some 1800 men about two leagues from thence, and, marching thither in three battalions, came to a bulwark which had been lately repaired, and was defended by two towers, filled with archers: this outwork was taken by storm, and the English retreated into the town. The bailey of Evreux,

* Holinshed, 244.

who commanded the rear-guard, remained at his post during the attack, and so continued, pursuant to his instructions, till the fleet arrived off the harbour, having a guidon of Dunois, the Bastard of Orleans, on board, borne by Galiot de Genouillac.*

There were in the port one large carrack and three ships of war, into which many English had retreated, and from whence they annoyed the enemy with their arrows. A negotiation was opened with them, the seneschal sending word, that if they chose to cease from shooting they might land in safety, but if not, he would burn their vessels. Each was so much exposed to the other, that the terms were mutually advantageous; and the English landed accordingly, to continue their defence ashore, leaving the ships to the invaders. The seneschal had it then proclaimed that no one, on pain of death, should plunder a church, violate a woman, set a house on fire, or kill any one in cold blood; injunctions which are said to have been all most honourably observed. The troops now entered the town by the gates, and the fleet sailed into the harbour. Their work, however, was not yet done: "the English," says Monstrelet, "gave them full employment;" when they were defeated in one place, rallying in another, and attacking them every where. At last, with great difficulty, the French drove them out of the town, displayed their banners from the gates, and formed in front of them in battle array, perceiving now that precaution as well as courage was necessary, for the inhabitants were gathering strength from all the adjacent parts. They had heard, and disbelieved, that the French intended to attack Sandwich, and therefore had made no preparations for defending it: but though they had neglected to provide against the danger, there was no want of alacrity in encountering it; and they kept up their skirmishes before the gates for six hours without intermission. The French, on their part, behaved manfully: the seneschal took the opportunity, as an honourable one, of being

* Monstrelet, ix. 396-8.

knighted on the field; the same honour was conferred on Thibault de Termes, bailey of Chartres, Jean Charbonnet, sieur de Chevreuses, and others, to the number of thirty in all. The French archers, however, found more agreeable employment within the walls than in front of them: there was a great quantity of good wine in the town, and the weather, their exertions, and the exultation of success, made them enjoy it so well, and drink so deep, that the seneschal saw it would be impossible for him to maintain his ground there through the night. Very wisely, therefore, about four in the afternoon, while the men were not too far gone for obeying orders, and taking care of themselves, he ordered a retreat, and effected it with no other loss than that of a boat which sunk, and in which nine men-at-arms were drowned. "It was a pity," says Monstrelet, "for they had that day well done their duty: may God grant them his pardon, and show mercy to all the others who fell!" They had had many killed and wounded during the day. According to their own historians, they carried off much wealth, with many prisoners, and many vessels of different sizes: they remained at anchor in the road till the Thursday following, waiting, no doubt, for a wind; the English continuing all the time in readiness to oppose them, had they attempted a second landing; but as soon as the wind served, the seneschal returned to Honfleur, where the prisoners were ransomed, and the plunder divided.*

The English are said to have been at this juncture desirous of making peace with France; but, according to Monstrelet †, the French king would neither hear nor see the ambassadors, who not only were unable to effect any part of their object, but could induce neither lord nor lady "to accept the palfreys, many of which

* Monstrelet, 398. 401. Hall (235.) is very angry at the French account, in which, however, there seems to be nothing exaggerated. It was an affair wherein both parties behaved well, and each might have learnt to respect the other.

† Vol. x. p. 41.

they had brought with them to gain the friendship of the persons about the court."

The time was at hand when the English, by sea as well as on shore, were to be divided against themselves. A solemn award had been made at Westminster, between the two great factions, that "all variances, discords, debates, controversies, and appeals" between them should for ever be determined and ended; and, for the open publication of this joyful agreement, a solemn procession was celebrated in St. Paul's; the king being present, "in habit royal, with his crown on his head," behind him queen Margaret and the duke of York, holding each other by the hand, and after them two chiefs of either party, paired in like manner, and parading hand in hand; the simple king being, perhaps, the only person concerned in whose heart the deadliest hatred was not rankling, even while God and man were called upon thus solemnly to witness the reconciliation! "What shall be said?" says Holinshed; "as goodly apples corrupted at core, how fair coated soever they seem, can never be made sound again; nor rotten walls, new plastered without, can ever the more stay their mouldering inward, till the putrified matter fret through the crust, and lay all in the mire; so fared it on all parts in this dissembled and counterfeit concord: for, after this apparent peace, divers of the nobles, smally regarding their honours, forgot their oath, and brake their promise boldly."*

A. D. 1459.

The most powerful of those nobles, Richard Nevil, earl of Warwick, was at that time deputy of Calais and high admiral; and, lest he should be dispossessed of his government, which was a post of great importance always, and of the greatest when a struggle for the crown was about to ensue, he left England for the purpose of seizing and securing both Calais and the fleet for the house of York. Fortune favoured him on this occasion; for, having fourteen well-appointed ships in his company, he fell in with a fleet of Spaniards and Genoese, among which were three large carracks of

* Holinshed, 248.

Genoa, and two Spanish ships that exceeded them both in height and length. "There was a very sore and long-continued battle fought betwixt them," for it lasted almost the space of two days. The English lost an hundred slain, and many more who were sorely hurt; the Spaniards and Genoese suffered far more: one account speaks of 1000 men killed, another of six and twenty vessels sunk or put to flight: the only certain statement is, that three of the largest prizes were carried into Calais, laden with oil, wine, wax, iron, cloth of gold, and other riches, to the estimated value of more than 10,000*l*. "The earl's fame, it is added, hereby increased not a little, and many a blessing he had for this piece of service."* Warwick was not very scrupulous concerning the lawfulness of the captures which he could make upon the high seas. Recent disputes with the Hanse Towns had led to a truce of eight years, with the expressed hope that, during that interval, the complaints and claims on both sides might be adjusted†: that truce, however, had not long been agreed on, before the earl fell in with some Lubeck ships, and gave them battle: a new complaint arose out of this affair; and commissioners were appointed to meet with others from Lubeck at Rochester, and there enquire into it. He had now matter of greater moment to engage his restless spirit.

A. D. 1456.

When the civil war had broken out, and the duke of York had taken the field, Warwick came from Calais to his aid, bringing with him a body of old soldiers accustomed to the wars of Guienne and Normandy. The two armies approached, and were within half a mile of each other, near Ludlow, when the king pitched his camp, and offered a free pardon to such of the rebels as should give over their lewdly begun enterprise, and repair to him for mercy. The proclamation had the effect which might be expected at the commencement of a rebellion, before the habit of obedience has been broken, and the principle destroyed. Among others, the greater

* Hollinshed, 250. Fabyan, 631. † Rymer, xi. 374.
‡ Ib. xi. 415.

part of the men of Calais, under sir Andrew Trollope, a most distinguished commander, departed during the night from the Yorkite camp, and went over to the king. Their desertion prevented the duke from attacking the king at daybreak, as had been intended; it defeated his projects, and so far confounded him, that he fled with his younger son to Ireland; and Warwick, with the earl of March (afterwards Edward IV.), and a select company, could find no safer course than to make their way into Devonshire, and from thence embark for Guernsey, in a ship which a certain squire, by name John Dynham, purchased for them at the price of 110 marks; at Guernsey they recruited themselves, and, sailing from thence to Calais, were there joyfully received at a postern by their friends.* The duke of Somerset meantime had been appointed by the king's party to the command of that important fortress: "but the old husbandman," says the chronicler of our civil wars, "sayeth, that, as too hasty sowing oftentimes deceiveth, so too late never well proveth; for if the king at the beginning had dispossessed his adversaries of that refuge and hold, no doubt but he had either tamed or vanquished them with little labour and small danger."†

Somerset, rejoicing much in his new office, sailed with great pomp to take possession of it; but when he would have entered the haven, the artillery shot so fiercely both out of the town and Risebank, that he, suffering there a sore repulse, was fain to land at Whitesand bay. When he required the captains of the town to receive him as the king's deputy, they neither regarded his summons, nor looked at his letters patent; and it was well for him that the castle of Guisnes was in the hands of more loyal men: thither he of necessity resorted, and from thence daily skirmished with the garrison of Calais, "more to his loss than gain." The troops whom he took with him were true; not so the seamen, with whom Warwick was a favourite, perhaps for the licence which he allowed them: they carried

* Holinshed, 253. Fabyan, 635. † Hall, 242.

some of the ships into Calais, and delivered into Warwick's hands several of his enemies; and that earl, though they had been thus betrayed, incontinently caused their heads to be struck off. This was not the only aid which Warwick and the earl of March received; "no small number of the commonalty daily resorted to them, the seas being open, by reason whereof, although they daily lost people, and had many slain, yet the number was restored, and the gap ever filled, while Somerset suffered continual detriment." That duke applied for reinforcements, and without delay "Richard lord Rivers and sir Anthony Woodville, his son, accompanied with 400 warlike persons, were ordered to join him: and these martial captains endeavouring themselves to the point for the which they were assigned, came to the port of Sandwich, and there abode the wind and the weather, which obeyeth neither king, nor serveth emperor." *

March and Warwick were well informed of these movements: they had hands enough, and wanted nothing but money wherewith to keep men contented who served them only for the sake of gain. This they provided, by borrowing 18,000*l*. from the merchants of the staple; and having thus strengthened the sinews of war, they despatched John Dynham with a strong company to Sandwich, looking upon him as one who might be relied on for any service. He sped so well, that he surprised the town, took lord Rivers and his son in their beds, robbed houses, spoiled ships of great riches and merchandise, took the principal ships of the king's navy (except the Grace de Dieu, which was not in a state to be removed), and carried them off, well furnished as they were with ordinance and artillery, "not without consent and agreement of the mariners, which owed their singular favour to the earl of Warwick." Dynham received a wound in the leg which lamed him for life; but though it disabled him for war, it seems in its consequences to have promoted his fortune: for,

* Hall, 242. Holinshed, 254.

taking in consequence to a different pursuit, he became at length lord high treasurer. Wounded as he was, he brought the ships royal, laden with money and prisoners, to Calais, and there presented them to the earl of March; "not knowing then," says Hall, "that the lord Rivers's daughter, which then had an husband living, should be the earl's wife, nor thinking that her father, for his sake, should after be destroyed: but who can know the secrets of God, or without Him declare the chances that after shall ensue?"

A. D. 1460. Some of these ships were immediately manned and victualled, and Warwick sailed in them to Ireland, there to confer with York. The weather favoured both his going and his return; in other respects he was strong enough to defy fortune. It is said that sir Baldwin Fulford undertook to destroy him, on pain of losing his head,—which he afterwards lost as a faithful adherent of the red rose: but, after spending a thousand marks of the king's money, he returned from a bootless quest. The duke of Exeter had been appointed chief admiral, and he lay on the west coast, hoping to intercept Warwick; but he was afraid of his people, captains as well as men, who did not dissemble that Warwick had their good wishes, and that they had neither respect nor liking for their commander; so that Warwick, who was prepared for battle, and expected it, passed by without molestation. Orders were now given for the defence of the sea coast, and all men passing to Flanders were forbidden to touch at Calais on pain of death, lest forced loans should be taken from them, or from the merchants of the staple. Sir Simon Montford was appointed to guard the Downs and the Cinque Ports; but his fortune was even worse than that of the lord Rivers, for a detachment under the lord Fauconbridge was sent from Calais against him: that unlucky town was a second time taken, and Montford and twelve of the principal persons under his command were carried across the Channel, and beheaded on the sands before Risebank. After

† Hall, 243. Fabyan, 635. Hollinshed, 254.

this success, March and Warwick, putting "the castle and town of Calais in sure and safe custody to their only use," sailed for England, landed at Sandwich, and marched against the king.*

While the English barons with desperate courage, and at this time with unshaken fidelity, were waging life and land for the contending houses of York and Lancaster, the rare instance occurred of one who looked only to his own security, caring for neither claimant, nor for his country, nor for his own good name. The earl of Wiltshire was at this time treasurer of England: as an active enemy of the Yorkites, he went with the lords Scales and Hungerford to Newbury, which belonged to the duke of York, made inquisition there of those who in any wise had favoured the duke, executed some, and spoiled all the inhabitants of the town. From thence he went to Southampton, and, under pretence of fitting out an expedition against the earl of Warwick, he manned four great Genoese carracks with soldiers, stored them with food, which he took up at the king's price without payment, put great part of his treasures on board, and, after sailing about awhile, conveyed himself and his property into Dutchland, sending the soldiers back.† Events followed each other now in rapid succession, — York's first successes, his subsequent defeat and death, and the assumption of the crown by his son Edward IV., who took full vengeance upon the enemies of his line. He appointed the earl of Kent high admiral; and a fleet, with 10,000 men, put to sea with the apparent view of deterring the French from sending a force to assist queen Margaret, landed in Bretagne, took Conquet, and afterwards the Isle of Rhé, and then returned. In the following year, the queen obtained from Louis XI. a force of 2000 men, under the same seneschal of Normandy, Pierre de Brezé, who had formerly got possession of Sandwich: it was supposed that the king wished to be rid of him by fair

A.D. 1461.

1462.

1463.

* Hall, 243. Fabyan, 636. Holinshed, 254—256.
† Holinshed, 256.

means, and therefore sent him on this service in the hope that he might perish in it. Expecting to be joined by Somerset, with a Scottish force, they landed at Tynemouth; but meeting there neither with succour nor tidings of succour, they reimbarked. The weather suddenly became tempestuous; the queen herself was glad to escape in a small caravel into Berwick; the other ships were driven on shore near Bamborough Castle, and the French, who saw no means of saving them, set them on fire, retired into Holy Island, and there endeavoured to defend them.* They were attacked there by the Bastard Ogle, and a squire, by name John Manners, with the strength of the adjacent parts. Some 400 were taken prisoners, and put to ransom, many were slain; the remainder, with the seneschal, made their way to Berwick, where the queen received them gladly, and gave him the command of Alnwick Castle: he defended it well till he was relieved by the Scots under the earl of Angus, who came with a great army and rescued them; the English looking on, and thinking it much better to leave the castle without loss, than to lose both the castle and the men, considering the great power of the Scots and their own small number.†

The queen, whose spirit nothing could subdue, leaving her helpless husband and her son at Edinburgh, sailed from Kirkcudbright with four ships, once more to solicit help from France. The duke of Bretagne aided her with 12,000 crowns, and Louis, out of his wonted policy, privately gave her a small † body of troops, exacting from her an obligation that she should deliver up Calais to him, as soon as it was in her power. The battle of Hexham followed, and the capture of king Henry; and Edward then thought himself "set in the sure stall, stable throne, and unmovable chair" of his kingdom, and "clearly out of doubt of all hostility and dan-

* Monstrelet, x. 19, 20. Hall, 259. Holinshed, 280, 281. Henry v. 127.
† Hall, I suspect, states the number of the detachment (500) erroneously, for that of the force which was sent with the seneschal; "a small number for her purpose," he says, "and yet greater than her husband or she were able to entertain in wages of their own coffers."

ger." Of all his adherents, Warwick was the person to whom he was most beholden for his success; but, by privately contracting a marriage while that great baron was publicly negotiating for one by his authority, he gave him deep offence, and is said previously to have offered him a private wrong,* which was not likely ever to be forgotten or forgiven. When the earl had determined upon taking vengeance, he connected himself with Edward's brother, the duke of Clarence, by giving him his eldest daughter in marriage. The marriage was celebrated at Calais, and some months elapsed before any demonstration of enmity was made on Warwick's part, or any suspicion appeared on the king's. The earl's plans were ill laid: he seems to have halted between two opinions, and to have resolved upon unmaking the king whom he had made, before he could subdue his own enmity toward the house of Lancaster, so far as to reconcile himself with queen Margaret, and prepare for restoring the dynasty which he had deposed. The effect of this irresolution was, that he was prepared with no plan of proceedings when he had made himself master of the king's person by a night attack upon his quarters at Wolney, near Warwick, and placed him in custody of his brother, the archbishop of York, at Middleham Castle, in Yorkshire: and when Edward, escaping from his careless guard, made his way safely to York first, and thence to Lancaster and London, the earl and Clarence found it necessary to fly the kingdom. They hired ships at Dartmouth, well armed, and at all points trimmed, and decked; and, embarking with their wives and retainers, sailed for Calais.*

A. D. 1469.

1470.

Warwick's intention was to leave his family in that safe hold, while he proceeded to the French king, Louis, in the hope of either obtaining a great aid from him, or of "incensing him earnestly to make battle against king Edward." He was the more likely to succeed, because, by the marriage of Charles the Bold of Burgundy with Edward's sister, Margaret, the house of York had con-

* Hall, 261. 265. 275. 278. Holinshed, 284. 294.

nected itself with the power that, of all others, Louis regarded with the most jealous and inimical feeling. That the duke wore the blue garter on his leg, and the red cross, which was the badge of king Edward, on his mantle, he considered a plain demonstration of his friendship for the English, and of his capital enmity against France.* Warwick had left Calais in charge to his lieutenant, the sieur de Vaucler, a Gascon by birth, on whose fidelity he firmly relied: nor was he altogether deceived in him; for it appears that Vaucler was very desirous to serve his lord, provided he could do so with safety to himself. Few men have succeeded so well in playing so dangerous a game. Instead of opening the gates to Warwick, he fired upon his ships, not, however, with the intention of injuring them. The duchess of Clarence was delivered of a fair son while they lay at anchor before the place — (poor child, his fate is one of the blackest stories in the black history of state crimes!); — it was not without great entreaty that Vaucler would allow the infant to be taken on shore for baptism, and permit two flagons of wine to be taken aboard. Edward, as may be supposed, was well pleased with the deputy lieutenant's conduct; knowing that, if the same course had been pursued on a former occasion, when he and Warwick took refuge there, it would have been fatal to what was then the insurrectionary cause. He immediately sent over his letters patent, constituting him chief captain of Calais, and proclaiming Warwick a traitor. Vaucler's character and station qualified him for the post, for he was a knight of the garter. The duke of Burgundy also estimated th importance of this act to the king of England, and consequently to his own immediate interest, so highly, that he sent Philippe de Comines to Calais, to settle upon Vaucler a pension of 1000 crowns, and exhort him to continue faithful to the part which he had now taken; and that captain accordingly took the oath of fidelity to Edward, in presence of Comines, and the other

* Continuation of Monstrelet, xi. 95.

officers of the garrison and of the town did the same. Vaucler, meantime, sent secret advice to Warwick, that if he attempted to enter the town he would be lost; the townsmen and most of the garrison being against him, as well as his own country and the duke of Burgundy: he advised him, therefore, to return into France, make his part good there, and leave him to manage his affairs in Calais, of which he would render him a good account in due time.* Warwick by this time had collected about fourscore vessels, they who rejoiced in any pretext for plundering the merchant ships gladly joining him: with these he sailed for Normandy, capturing all vessels belonging to the Low Countries which came in his way; he landed at Dieppe, and repaired immediately with Clarence to the king of France, to commune with him at Amboise.†

That crafty monarch, than whom no king ever knew better when to spend and when to spare, received him to his heart's content, supplied him largely with money for his followers, and ordered his admiral, the Bastard of Bourbon, to put to sea in aid of this new ally against the duke of Burgundy. Meantime Warwick's ships scoured the coast of Flanders, and brought in such stores of merchandise in their prizes into the French ports, that Louis is said to have prohibited by proclamation any further sale of such goods, lest the province should be drained of its money. At Amboise, one of those matrimonial alliances were formed, which having policy for their sole motive, have so frequently frustrated the very purpose for which they were designed: the earl's youngest daughter was married to prince Ed-

* "Il servit très-bien son capitaine, luy donnant ce conseil," says Comines, "mais très-mal son roy. Jamais homme ne tint plus grande desloyauté que ce Vaucler, vu que le roy d'Angleterre l'avoit fait capitaine en chef, avec ce que le duc de Bourgogne luy donnoit." Comines gives his reasons for relating these particulars: he says, "pour ce qu'il est besoin d'estre informé aussi bien des tromperies et mauvaistiez de ce monde, comme du bien, (non pour en user, mais pour s'en garder), je veux declarer une tromperie, une habilité, ainsi qu'on la voudra nommer, car elle fut sagement conduite; et aussi veux qu'on entend les tromperies de nos voisins, comme les nostres, et que partout il y a du bien et du mal." — *Coll. Univ. des Mémoires*, &c. t. xi. 147, 148.

† Hall, 278, 279. Holinshed, 294. Comines, ut supra, 144–8. Cont. of Monstrelet, xi. 98—104.

ward, king Henry's only son. Bitter wrongs were to be forgiven on either side, and the deepest resentment to be overcome: but, in contracting this alliance with the house of Lancaster, whereby he pledged himself to the restoration of that house, the earl overlooked the probable effect upon Clarence, who might now think it safer to be reconciled to his brother than to serve under the red rose. Edward did not lose the occasion which was thus presented to him, and by means of a female agent opened an intercourse with his weak and worthless brother, which prepared the way for his defection. This was the only measure to which an apprehension of his danger excited him, though Burgundy repeatedly warned him, that unless he was well prepared the enemy would be upon him. Yet Edward could not but be aware how greatly Warwick was to be dreaded. "There was no other man," says Hall, "whom the people held in so much honour, and praised so much, and extolled to the clouds so highly. His only name sounded in every song in the mouth of the common people, and his person was represented with great reverence, when public plays or open triumphs were showed or set forth in the streets; and now his absence made them long daily more and more to have the sight of him, for they judged that the sun was clearly taken from the world when he was absent."* But Edward, a young, hale, and handsome prince, brave as the bravest of his undaunted race, and equally devoid of fear and of forethought, reckoned upon his own popularity, and disbelieved or disregarded that of Warwick, the king-maker, whose reputation, however, was then as great in other countries as in England.† The king of France had bound this mighty

* "One cause of the great favour in which Warwick was held by the comm[illegible] of this land was by reason of the exceeding household which he daily kept in all countries, wherever he sojourned or lay; and when he came to London, he held such an house that six oxen were eaten at a breakfast; and every tavern was full of his meat, for who that had any acquaintance in that house, he should have as much sod and roast as he might carry upon a long day." — *Holinshed*, 301.

† "Tenials con el rey y con todos," says Sueyro, "pues devia valer mucho el hombre que pudo trocar dos veses el estado de Ingalaterra, y disponer de la corona."—T. ii. 479.

earl, and with him queen Margaret for her husband, and the prince of Wales for himself as well as his father, by oath, never to confederate with the house of Burgundy, but to assist him till he should have subverted that house, and subjected its dominions.* Even Charles the Bold might reasonably regard with apprehension the consequences of such an engagement.

That prince prepared immediately to meet the danger. He seized upon the French property at Bruges, Antwerp, and other places. His states, Burgundy excepted, which had enough to do in providing for its own defence, voted him 120,000 crowns for three years for the expense of a naval armament: he engaged such Spanish, Portuguese, Genoese, and Easterlings' ships as were found at Sluys, and went to Zeeland, there to accelerate the preparations which were making at Arnemuiden and at Veere. The lord of Veere, Henrik van Borselen, sailed with eight and twenty great ships from Arnemuiden; and Warwick's fleet, though strengthened by the French under the Bastard of Bourbon, thought it not advisable to hazard an action with him, but hastened to their port in Normandy. Van Borselen landed some of his people, for he had the strength of Zeeland with him, and burnt ten of the enemy's vessels in the harbour where they had thought themselves safe.

After this victory, Henrik van Borselen sailed for England: where his brother Floris the Bastard landed with a body of men one day for recreation, and went into Southampton, not knowing that the people of that town were partisans of Warwick: but they, regarding the Burgundians as his enemies, ran to arms, set up the cry of "Warwick!" and fiercely attacked him. He was strong enough to get possession of a part of the town, and maintain it, till the foreign traders who were in the river interfered, and took Floris and his wounded people on board their ships. In consequence of this affray, Edward punished some of the persons who had

* Sueyro says that treaties to this effect were found among the papers of prince Edward after his death. ii. 479.

been foremost in it, and sent men on whom he could rely to occupy the town. He also despatched a squadron of eleven ships to join the Burgundians.*

An Easterling captain, Hans Voetken by name, distinguished himself during this season by extricating himself from a superior force of Warwick's ships; sinking some, and bearing away others as prizes. In a subsequent action with a fleet of Hollanders freighted with salt from Bretagne, the English lost fourteen ships, and the Hollanders threw their prisoners into the sea; for which barbarity reprisals were made soon afterwards, when eight vessels belonging to the Low Countries fell into the hands of Warwick's people.† Vaucler, who, while he openly adhered to one party, maintained a secret intelligence with the other, anxiously calculated the probabilities of success on either side, and thought them so doubtful, that he desired rather to see the dispute settled by negotiation than by arms. When Comines from time to time urged him to send away from Calais some twenty or thirty servants of Warwick, as dangerous persons, he promised so to do, and continually delayed doing it; till at length, when it was known that Warwick's preparations for returning to England, and there trying his fortunes, were complete, he told Comines, the best advice which could be offered to the duke his master, if he wished to continue in alliance with England, was, to take the opportunity that now presented itself, and forward the proposals for peace which had arrived from king Edward. He had been deceived by the female agent, whom that king, under this pretext, had employed to bring about the defection of his brother Clarence.‡

The fleet which Charles the Bold had sent out was stronger than the combined forces of Warwick and the

* Oude Chronijcke van Holland, 491, 492.

† Suffyro, 479. 481.

‡ Comines, 151. This most amusing writer prides himself not a little upon his knowledge of these intrigues, being the first which he had ever an opportunity of understanding. "De ces secrètes habilitez ou tromperies," he says, "qui se sont faites en nos contrées de deça, n'entendres vous plus véritablement de nulle autre personne, au moins de celles qui sont advenues depuis vingt ans." — P. 152.

French king; and it lay off the mouth of the Seine, ready to attack them if they should venture forth. The letters which Warwick received from England assured him, that "almost all men were in harness, looking for his landing daily and hourly, sore wishing his arrival:" he was required to "make haste, yea more than haste, although he brought no succour with him;" and he was assured that thousands would join him as soon as he should land. All this was the offer of the common people; besides which, the chiefs of the Lancastrian party undertook to adventure themselves, and all that they possessed, in the cause. Thus encouraged, the earl determined not to wait till queen Margaret and her son could accompany him, but to set forth at once with that part of the armament which was ready. "See," says the chronicler, "the work of God!" he had determined upon putting to sea at all hazards, and the night before the purpose should have been executed, a storm arose, and drove off the duke's fleet; some were lost, some driven to Scotland, some to Holland: Van Borselen with the admiral's ship got to the Isle of Walcheren. When the storm had thus cleared the Channel of this hostile fleet, the wind became favourable for Warwick, and he and his company arrived without opposition on the Devonshire coast, part landing at Dartmouth, part at Plymouth." "Uncredible it was," says Speed, "to see the confluence of them which came armed to him, who erewhile applauded and approved none but king Edward." The duke of Burgundy had warned the king not only of Warwick's preparations, and of his strength, but of the course which he intended to steer, and the point where it was his purpose to land. Edward, however, took no measures either to prevent the earl from landing, or for giving him battle before he could collect his strength, but pursued his accustomed sports, in disregard of all danger; and when the earl, "fully furnished on every side with his kindred and friends, took his way toward London, where he expected to find more open friends than privy enemies," Edward, even when informed "of

the great repair of people that to him incessantly, without intermission, did resort," still relied confidently upon his own fortunes and the strength of his house, and wrote to Burgundy, requesting him only to have a vigilant eye to the sea, that Warwick might not again effect his escape to France.

But his summons was not so readily obeyed as the great king-maker's. "Of those that he sent for, few came, and yet more came than were willing, and more came willingly than were betrusted." He soon discovered that London was no safe place for him, and repaired towards Nottingham, from thence to act as might seem best; but when Warwick's brother, marquis Montacute, who had got together some 6000 men in Edward's name, instead of joining him there, revolted, it seemed as if the whole nation were declaring against him. As soon as this defection was divulged among the multitude, "it was a world," says the chronicler, "to see the face of this new world;" for "all the town, and all the country adjacent, was in a great roar; in every street bonfires were made; in every church the bells rung, and songs were sung at every meeting; and every man cried king Henry! king Henry! and the echo likewise redoubled a Warwick! a Warwick!" Then, indeed, Edward was much abashed; and when his espials assured him that all the realm was up, in obedience to a proclamation requiring them to make war upon him in king Henry's name, as a public enemy, he listened to the entreaties of his near friends, that he should fly over sea to his brother-in-law the duke of Burgundy, and there tarry till God and fortune should send him better chance. There was little time for deliberation; some of Warwick's power being within less than half a day's journey of him; so, "with all haste possible, and more jeopardy than it beseemed a prince to be in," he passed the Wash, and came to Lynn, where he found an English ship and two hulks of Holland ready to make sail. And "being in a marvellous agony, and doubting the mutability of the townsmen, he went on board

with his brother Gloucester, the lord Scales, and other his trusty friends, without bag or baggage, without cloth-sack or mail, and, perchance, says Hall, with a great purse and little treasure, for he nor his had no leisure to provide according to their degrees and estates. Hastings, the lord chamberlain, was the last who embarked, having first exhorted those who of necessity were left behind, that they should openly show themselves as friends to the adverse party, for their own safeguard, but continue true in their hearts to king Edward; a lesson which might have been spared, for upon that principle high and low acted on both sides, when occasion called for such dissimulation.

About 300 persons * took flight with him in these vessels; "having no furniture of apparel, or other necessary things with them, saving apparel for war, and not knowing whither they were bound, so it were only to some port within the duke of Burgundy's dominions." It was now Edward's fortune to have some little experience of the evils which the dispute with the Easterlings brought on while Warwick was high-admiral, occasioned to his seafaring subjects. Some seven or eight of their gallant ships were at that time cruising in those seas: they espied him, and gave him chase. They were at war both with France and England, and had cruised that season with great success, so as to make themselves much dreaded † by the English. Happily for Edward, the vessel in which he had embarked was a good sailer, and he was nearer the Dutch coast than the enemy when they got sight of him, and, running into the Texel, cast anchor near what was then the harbour of the town of Alkmaer. They could not enter during the ebb. The Easterlings held on in pursuit, and approached as near as their great ships could come at low water, meaning at the flood to take possession of their prey. It happened, however, that

* Comines, and the English chroniclers after him, say from 700 to 800. I follow the Dutch chronicle, as giving a more likely statement, and as in this point better authority.

† "Estoient fort crainte des Anglois, et non sans cause, car ils sont bons combattans, et leur avoient porté grand dommage cette année la, et pris plusieurs navires." — *Comines*, 157.

the lord Lodewyk van Gruythuysen, then stadthouder of Holland, Friesland, and Zeeland, was at that time in Alkmaer; and he having, by his prompt protection, saved the king from captivity, received him as became his rank, and taking him first to visit the relics of St. Adalbert and other English saints at the abbey of Egmont, escorted him through Haarlem, Noordwyck, and Leyden to the Hague.*

One of Warwick's first acts, after he found himself master of the kingdom, was to repay the sums with which the king of France had assisted him: but the ship, with his messengers and the money on board, was taken by the Easterlings, and they sent their prisoner and his papers to the duke of Burgundy, who by this means became fully informed of the plans which had been concerted for his destruction.† This prompt repayment, though the money had been intercepted, evinced the fidelity with which Warwick designed to fulfil his engagements; and Louis manifested a corresponding disposition, by giving orders that the nobles, clergy, and inhabitants of Paris should make processions in honour of God and the Virgin Mary, and continue them for three days, laying aside all other business whatsoever, in thanksgiving for the great victory which Henry of Lancaster, king of England, had obtained over the earl of March, who, by support of the duke of Burgundy, had for a long time usurped his throne; and also in thanksgiving for the happy peace and good understanding that now subsisted between himself and the king of England. Processions on this occasion were performed in all the principal towns of France.‡ The great object of Louis XI. was to make England subservient to his policy, and by its aid to gratify his hatred of Charles the Bold, and accomplish his views of aggrandisement at that enemy's expense. But the assertion that Burgundy had been the support of the house

* Chronijcke van Holland, 492. Comines, 157—160. Hall, 284. Holinshed, 297.
† Chronijcke van Holland, 492.
‡ Continuation of Monstrelet, xi. 106.

of York was false even to absurdity. Charles, though he had married a daughter of that house, was, by his mother, of the red rose line, and he had inherited strong prepossessions in favour of that illustrious branch of the Plantagenets, from which the greatest men of the preceding generation had sprung. When he heard that Edward had landed as a fugitive upon his coast, Comines says he would much rather have heard of his death. He was not, however, led by this feeling to any act unbecoming his station or himself. Edward, by his orders, was entertained, as he had been first received, as his brother-in-law, and as an exiled king; at the same time, knowing of how great importance it was to his subjects to be at peace with England, and how little it concerned them whether the house of York or Lancaster were in possession of the throne, he sent Comines to Calais to negotiate for a renewal, or rather a continuation, of the treaty between the two countries.*

Hostilities had commenced from Calais as soon as Warwick had sent the tidings of his success there, and at the same time a reinforcement of some 400 men. They made an inroad into the Boulonnois; in return for which, Comines had despatched orders to seize all English merchants and merchandise at Gravelines. Hitherto he had at all times entered Calais confidently, without a safe-conduct; relying not more upon his acquaintance with the persons in authority there, than upon the honour of the English, to which he bears honourable testimony; but upon this occasion he thought it necessary to provide himself with all possible securities. Accordingly, he informed the duke of his apprehensions, and the duke sent him his signet, requiring him to proceed on his mission, and assuring him that, if he were arrested, he should be ransomed; — an assurance on which he seemed to place no great reliance, as knowing that Charles cared little to what danger he might expose any of his servants. But Comines thought it better to rely upon the good faith of his enemies (if such they were to

* Comines, 160.

be) than upon the protection of his prince, and applied to Vaucler for a safe-conduct, who replied, in the friendliest terms, that he might enter as he had ever before done. There came, however, none to meet and welcome him, as they had been wont: white crosses, the badge of France, met his eyes; songs celebrating the confederacy between Warwick and the king of France resounded in his ears; Vaucler himself wore in his bonnet the ragged staff, and whosoever had not that badge of the Nevils in gold, had it in cloth. He was told, that the revolution in England had not been known in Calais a quarter of an hour before every one had put himself in this livery. Comines observes, that he never till then felt the instability of human affairs; and he noticed, when dining with Vaucler, that the persons whom he had always regarded as most attached to king Edward, were now the most outrageous in their expressions of joy at his expulsion. He was then a young man, little experienced in state practices; but he had already learnt the art of dissimulation, and, though he had received certain information that Edward was safe in Holland, made no scruple of assuring the guests that he was dead; but whether he were or not, he said, the treaties which the duke his master had made were not with Edward IV., but with the king and realm of England; and these words had been advisedly used in framing them, that they might hold good whatever king might reign, and whatever mutations might take place in that kingdom. So it was agreed, that these treaties should continue in force; and though the merchants had received intimation that it was Comines who had advised the seizure of the goods in Gravelines, and for that reason would fain have had him arrested, he conducted his business so well as to adjust that cause of dispute. There had been an old agreement with the house of Burgundy, that the garrison of Calais, in case of need, might carry off cattle within a certain district, paying for them a just price. That price now was paid for what had been taken in the last inroad; and the merchants themselves, that their staple

might not be interrupted, used all their influence to further the object for which Comines was sent there. It was of the utmost importance to Charles the Bold: Louis had just taken from him Amiens and St. Quentin; and if a serious attack had been made upon him by the English at the same time, the worst consequences might have been apprehended.*

Charles, therefore, had now no cause of anxiety from England; yet he had some difficulty how to act between two parties, to both which, setting aside political considerations and personal feelings, he was in some degree bound in honour. The duke of Somerset, his kinsman, as of Lancastrian blood, was a refugee at his court, and was espousing there, with all his influence, the cause of king Henry, when Edward came to his brother-in-law at St. Pol, and told him what invitations he had from his friends in England, and besought him as the husband of his sister, and as his brother in the order of the Garter, not to desert, but aid him in the recovery of his rightful throne. Both had their adherents about them; and there was a danger that their inveterate hatred of each other might break out into open hostilities, even when both were suppliants. Charles, therefore, for his own sake, desired to be rid of both; and this he effected with sufficient impartiality, though not by holding an open and honourable course. Indeed, even in the best ages of chivalry, any consistent principle of honour was almost as rare as the virtue of humanity; and, at this time, the avowed maxims of the great were such as might justify any practices, however unworthy or nefarious. He publicly assisted Somerset with means, and secretly covenanted with him to act against Warwick, whenever opportunity might be favourable. Yet Somerset and Warwick were ostensibly reconciled at this time, and acting in the same cause; and Charles had written "lovingly" to Warwick, saying, that, as he was himself of the Lancastrian stock, he was by nature obliged as well as by alliance bound to support, honour,

* Comines, 162—167.

and defend that noble house both by word and deed, against all manner of persons and estates: "flattering terms and glosing words," relating to Warwick himself, were added, "which," says Hall, "I think neither the duke inwardly minded, nor the earl outwardly believed." Further to confirm these protestations, he declared that he would give Edward no assistance, and forbade all persons from engaging in his service; but Edward received a private intimation that the duke found it necessary to consult his own safety by thus conforming to the times: and when Somerset and his followers had joyfully taken their departure for England, the duke secretly put Edward in possession of 50,000 florins of the cross of St. Andrew; lent him three or four ships, which he gave orders for equipping in Veere, being "a port free for all men; and covertly hired for him fourteen Easterling vessels, well appointed, taking bond of them to serve truly till he was landed, and for fifteen days afterwards." The Easterlings gladly engaged in this service, regarding Warwick as their enemy, and trusting that, if Edward recovered the kingdom, "they should, for the help which they had thus afforded, the sooner come to a concord and peace, and obtain the restitution of those franchises which they claimed in England."* They were not deceived in this: one of the first acts of Edward's government, after his restoration, was to conclude a perpetual peace with the Hanse Towns.†

A.D. 1471. The duke considered himself now safe on the side of England: let whatsoever king might reign, he was the friend and ally of the government for the time being; and having acted bountifully to both parties, he believed that on both sides there must be a friendly feeling towards him. The aid which he had given to Edward was, though secret, very considerable, considering the circumstances‡, and so far worthy of the character which

* Hall, 289. 290. Comines, 167—169. Holinshed, 303.
† 1472. Rymer, xi. 739.
‡ "Ce secours fut très-grand selon le temps." — *Comines*, 169.

he had obtained, of exceeding in splendour all princes of his time.* Edward, "being thus furnished, thought nothing more painful and wretched than the tarrying of one day longer, nor nothing more to be desired than with all celerity to sail toward his own country." But his patience was put to some trial; for, having embarked at Flushing, he remained aboard nine weary days before the wind "turned meet for his journey:" when once it came about, he hoisted sail, directing his course straight over to the coast of Norfolk. The next day brought them to Cromer, in the evening; and he sent sir Robert Chamberlaine, sir Gilbert Debenham, and some others, ashore, to discover how the people were affected. They returned with information that there was no surety for him to land there, because of the good order which Warwick and Oxford had especially taken in that country to resist him; the duke of Norfolk, and all of whom any suspicion was felt, having been sent for to London, by letters of privy seal, and either committed to safe keeping or else compelled to give security for their loyal demeanour toward king Henry. Yet his agents had been well received by their friends, and entertained with good cheer. The feeling of passionate attachment to either house seemed to be worn out among the people: they were weary of changes, and wished to be at rest under a settled government. Edward, finding such poor encouragement, proceeded to the north. A storm arose that night, and continued the two following days; on the second of which, his fleet was scattered, so that, of necessity, they were driven to land separately, each where they could, lest they should be cast away. Edward's force amounted to about 2000 able men-at-arms, besides mariners. In his own ship some 500 of these men were embarked, with one of the most faithful of his friends, the lord Hastings. They found themselves off the mouth of the

Mar. 12.

* At his marriage with the English princess, the old chronicle says, "alle de heeren ende princen gaven ghetuyghenisse ende seyden, dat gheen keyser, coninck ofte prince in Christenrijck en ware te ghelijcken hertoghe Kaerle, in eere, glorie ende moghentheyt."

Humber; and, putting up that estuary, landed on the Holderness side, at Ravenspurgh, — the very place where Bolingbroke landed, when he came to deprive Richard II. of the crown, and to usurp it for himself: so fatal was that spot to the Plantagenets, first of the one and then of the other line.*

His brother Richard, with 300 men, landed about four miles distant; and earl Rivers, with some 200, higher up the river, at Paul; the rest here and there, where they could, yet none so remote from the poor village in which the king took up his hard lodging for the night, but that they joined him on the following day. Some who had light horses rode about "to see if, by any persuasion, the rustical and uplandish people might be allured to take king Edward's part, and wear harness in his quarrel;" but they came back on the morrow, "making relation that all the towns round about were permanent and stiff on the part of king Henry, and could not be removed, and that it was but folly further to solicit them; for when they were moved on his behalf, not a man durst speak for fear of Warwick:" "yet, in respect of the good-will that many of them had borne to his father, they could be content that he should enjoy his due inheritance of the duchy of York." That right they could clearly understand; but the right of succession to the crown was a neck-question, too high and too perilous for them. They would not help, yet as little did they wish to hurt him; so they let him pass till they should understand more of his meaning. When Edward had digested this unpalatable intelligence, he accommodated himself to it; and, instead of reclaiming the crown, publicly declared that he required only the duchy of York. "Deeming all artifices allowable when his life and his crown were at stake, he produced the letter and seal of the earl of Northumberland, which he persuaded the easily deluded people were sent for his safe-conduct, when he was invited to come and take possession of the duchy; and this dissi-

* Hall, 290. Holinshed, 303.

mulation he is said to have carried so far, that in many places he proclaimed king Henry himself, and wore an ostrich feather, which was Edward the prince of Wales's livery.* "It is almost incredible," says the honest chronicler of these wars, "to see what effect this new imagination, although it were but feigned, sorted and took immediately upon the first opening: such a power hath justice ever amongst all men." When it was blown abroad that king Edward's desire was farther from nothing than from the coveting of the kingdom, and that he no earthly promotion desired before his just patrimony and lineal inheritance, all men, moved with mercy and compassion, began, out of hand, either to favour him, or not to resist him, so that he might obtain his duchy." He, "when he had found these means to pacify men's minds and to reconcile their hearts," determined to make for York, instead of proceeding straight for London; because he apprehended that, when he went to cross the Humber, it would be thought he had withdrawn himself to the sea for fear, and that such a rumour would lightly be spread, to the hinderance of his whole cause. This answered so well, because it seemed to confirm his declaration, that a force of 6000 or 7000 men, who had been collected in divers places, chiefly by a priest, and a gentleman named Martin de la Mere, instead of offering any resistance, with which intent they had been raised, "took occasion to assist him;" and he advanced to Beverley, in the direct line for York. From thence he sent to Kingston-upon-Hull, requiring the people to receive him there also; but the ruling party were predominant there, and they refused him admittance in any wise.†

Warwick's brother, Montacute, who was stationed at Pomfret with a great number of soldiers, was instructed with all speed to attack Edward, if he was strong enough; or else "to keep the passages, and stay him from advancing," till Warwick himself, who was col-

* Speed, 692. † Hall, 291. Hollinshed, 304.

lecting an army in the midland counties, should join him. It is doubtful to which side Montacute was faithful, or if to either: for, though great companies were assembled, they kept out of sight of the king's march, and allowed him to pass quietly. Their force was far superior to his; but there were many reasons which made them stand aloof: a belief that his claim to the duchy was lawful; a doubt whether his claim to the crown, though not as yet avowed, might not be well founded also — and, what to them was of greater importance, successful. "They knew, also," says Holinshed, "that not only he himself, but likewise his company, were minded to sell their lives dearly, before they would shrink an inch from any that was to encounter them; and it may be that divers of the captains, although outwardly they showed to be against him, yet in heart they bore him right good will." By this Montacute had written "to all the towns of Yorkshire, and to the city also, commanding all men, on the king's behalf, to be ready in harness, and to shut their gates against the king's enemies." He nevertheless proceeded, without let or hinderance, till, when he was within three miles of York, the recorder, Thomas Coniers, and other deputies, came to him with word from the citizens that they were armed to defend their gates, and earnestly admonished him not to approach nearer. The message was not delivered in a lukewarm spirit, nor by one of questionable fidelity; and Edward was not a little troubled by it, for he had to choose between two chances, both highly perilous. Should he turn back, "he feared lest the rural and common people, for covetousness of prey and spoil, should fall on him," as one that was taking flight: "if he should proceed, then might the citizens of York issue out with all their power, and suddenly circumvent and take him." He determined, however, to go forward; but not with army nor with weapon: lowly language and gentle entreaties were the instruments that served his purpose best. So, with fair words and flattering speech,

he repeated his protestations that he sought only to recover the duchy, his old inheritance; and he protested that if, by means of the citizens of York, he might recover it, so great a benefit should never be by him forgotten. Having thus dismissed the messengers, he followed them with such good speed, that he was at the gates almost as soon as they. The citizens, influenced by his answer, and by his appearance, "were much mitigated and cooled." They parleyed with him from the walls, and assured him that, if he would without delay convey himself to some other place, he should have no hurt; "but he gently speaking to all men, and especially to such as were aldermen, whom he called worshipful, and by their proper names them saluted," entreated that, "by their friendly permission, he might enter into his own town, from which he had both his name and title. All the whole day was consumed in doubtful communication and earnest interlocution." But at length the citizens, "partly won by his fair words, and partly by hope of his large promises, fell to this pact, that if he would swear to entertain his citizens of York after a gentle sort, and hereafter to be obedient and faithful to king Henry, they would receive him into their city, and aid and comfort him with money."*

Oaths never yet impeded an ambitious man. The duke of York, as he now called himself, and as the citizens called him, presented himself the next morning at the gate. A priest was in readiness there to say mass; and he, at that mass, "receiving the body of our blessed Saviour," solemnly swore to what had been agreed, "when it was far unlike that he intended to observe the oath; and all men afterward evidently perceived that he took no more study or diligence for any one earthly thing, than he did to persecute king Henry, and to spoil him of his kingdom." And here the English chroniclers remark, that this solemn and wilful perjury did not pass unpunished, for the sins of the father were visited upon the children; and no family ever more hea-

* Hall, 292. Holinshed, 304, 305.

vily or more deservedly experienced that judgement than the Plantagenets. When Edward had thus deluded the citizens, he set a garrison in the city to prevent them from rising against him, and then, by means of this money, gathered a great host. Montacute allowed him, when he marched for London, to pass unmolested by, though within four miles of his camp. The marquis distrusted his own men as much as he was himself distrusted; and by his inaction at that critical time was thought to have done Edward as good service as if he had joined him with his army. Yet Edward was joined by few till he drew near Nottingham, where sir William Parr, sir James Harrington, sir Thomas Burgh, and sir Thomas Montgomery, came to him with their friends and dependants. They added to him greater strength than any army which they could have raised, by declaring that they would serve no man but a king: upon this encouragement, he reassumed the title, and, casting away all dissemblance, issued his royal proclamation — not more to the "shame and dolour" of the citizens of York, who then perceived how grossly they had been deluded, than to the comfort of those who, either from the spirit of party, or from a clear conviction of its justice, were attached to the Yorkite cause. "The white rose thus having bloomed, the red falling its leaves, all flocked to Edward, whose train, as he passed," says Speed, "was like a river that in the running is ever increased with new springs." He entered London on Holy Thursday, the Lancastrians, in their dismay, making no attempt to resist him, so that the gates were open; and Henry, who in the morning had been paraded as king through the streets of his capital, found himself before night a prisoner in Edward's hands. This extraordinary success, against all seeming probabilities, Comines says, was accounted for by three circumstances. Above 2000 Yorkites had taken refuge in the different sanctuaries within the walls when Edward fled the kingdom: among them were 300 or 400 knights or squires, persons of condition and

influence, ready and able to act with effect upon such an opportunity as was here presented. Their numbers were dreaded by the other party, who probably over-estimated them; and further strength was added to their cause by popular feeling, then strongly excited in favour of Edward's queen, who, now herself in sanctuary, had recently been delivered of a son. The second cause which Comines indicates was, that Edward owed many debts in London, and the merchants to whom he was indebted were greatly interested in his success. The third was, that a young and handsome and licentious king, who had courted the women within his sphere or his reach for widely different purposes, found zealous partisans in them at this critical hour, and they incited all whom they could influence to appear in his behalf. Each of these causes had, no doubt, its effect; but the truth is, that that revolution, like all such revolutions, was the effect of audacity on the one side, and irresolution and timidity on the other. When it was known that Clarence had forsaken his father-in-law, Warwick, and joined the king his brother, "such a fear," says Hall, "rose suddenly among the citizens, that they were driven to their wits' ends, not knowing either what to do or to say; but at the last very fear compelled them to take king Edward's part."*

When Clarence sent by some of his friends to Warwick excuses for his own conduct, and exhortations that the earl would come to some good accord with king Edward while he might, the king-maker returned this reply, "that he would liever be always like himself, than like a false and perjured duke; and that he was fully determined never to cease from the contest till he had either lost his own life, or utterly extinguished and put under his enemies." In that determination he marched against the king, and the battle of Barnet was fought: in that battle the king appears to have shown more military skill than his great opponent. The accidents of war and of the weather were in the king's favour; and

* Hall, 291—294. Holinshed, 305—314. Speed, 682. Comines, 170.

Warwick, the last of those great barons who were powerful enough to enthral the sovereign and transfer the crown, came to that end which, when the day went against him, he sought, and which, probably for himself and certainly for the nation, was the best that could have befallen him. "After so many strange fortunes and perilous chances by him escaped, death did for him one thing that life could not do; for by death he had rest, peace, quietness, and tranquillity, which his life ever abhorred, and could not suffer nor abide."* The battle of Tewkesbury soon followed, and the fruits of victory were secured to Edward, by the murder, in his presence, of the prince of Wales, who had been brought before him as a prisoner, upon the king's promise that his life should be saved. The bitterness of that murder, it has been properly observed, some of the actors, in their latter days, tasted and assayed by the very rod of justice and punishment of God."†

Edward ordered three days' thanksgiving for his final success, and following up that success with just such measures as his enemies would have taken had the victory fallen to their part, he visited the towns and places where the Lancastrians had first assembled, and there, "to the pain and punishment of no small number," provided for his own security. All opposition within the kingdom was effectually put down; but an alarm reached him from the sea. Warwick had appointed his kinsman, Thomas Nevil, the bastard son of Thomas lord Falconbridge, his vice-admiral; and, in expectation of maintaining the ascendency which he then held, charged him so to keep the seas, and especially the passage between Dover and Calais, as that none of the Yorkites "should escape untaken or undrowned." The bastard is described as being, "for his evil conditions, such an apt person, that a more meeter could not be chosen to set all the world in a broil, much more easily then might he put this realm on an ill hazard." Upon Warwick's fall, the boldest course seemed to him the best:

* Hall, 297. † Idem.

"he robbed both of the sea and the land, as well his enemies as his friends;" and, soon becoming notorious for his piracies, a great number of sailors came to him from all parts of the land, and many lawless people, and not a few who are called traitors, and who, in the ruin which was brought upon them by the utter overthrow of the Lancastrian family, had become desperate. Calais was still open to him; and having got together a great navy, and no inconsiderable means, by the prizes which he had taken from all nations, and especially from the Portugueze, he resolved upon an enterprise which, though in regard to his own character and to that of the men whom he had assembled, it may deservedly have been called mischievous, and wicked, as well as great, was nevertheless not unworthy of his name and paternal line. He sailed for the Thames: many Kentish men were willing to assist him, others were forced either to join him, or aid him with their substance and money; and having collected some 16,000 or 17,000 men, he brought his ships to Blackwall, and eight days only after the battle of Tewkesbury, appeared with his army before London. Henry was then living; and the Bastard demanded admission in his name, proclaiming his intention to deliver him from the Tower, restore him to his royal dignity, and, leading him through the city, to march forthwith against Edward, whose destruction he and his people vowed to pursue "with all their uttermost endeavours." Fear was then the moving principle by which the mayor and aldermen were actuated; and being more afraid of a victorious king than of such a force as this adventurer had brought together, they refused to admit him or any of his company *, and despatched advice to Edward, who was then at Coventry.

May 12.

May 14.

Immediately Edward sent off "1500 of the choicest soldiers he had about him" to the succours of the mayor and aldermen, that they might be enabled to resist this enemy, till he could get together such an army as was thought necessary; for he was far from regarding such

* Fabyan, 662. Hall, 301. Holinshed, 321.

an enemy with contempt. The Queen and his infant children were thought not to be in very good safeguard, considering the evil dispositions of many within the city, "who, for the favour they had borne to Warwick, and for their desire to be partakers of the spoil, cared not if the Bastard might have attained to his full purpose and wished intent." Falconbridge, meantime, finding that neither by persuasion nor threats he could obtain entrance, marched with his whole land force towards Kingston, leaving his ships between St. Catherine's and Blackwall, near Ratcliff. His declared intention was to spoil and destroy Westminster, and the suburbs of that city, and then to assault the city, and take vengeance upon those who had refused to admit him. But as he was on his way, he was advertised that Edward was preparing to march against him, with all the great lords of the realm, and a larger army than he had ever brought into the field before. The Bastard saw that if he crossed the river there was danger of his being surrounded; and that if, in the present state of his army, Edward could force him to a battle, his destruction would be inevitable: he knew also that there was no means of escape but by his ships; and that, while he was within reach of them, he was safe. So, with a resolution as prompt and as brave as the crisis required, he turned back, and mustered his people in St. George's Fields. Whatsoever the outward words of these men might be, "their inward cogitations," says Hall, "were only hope of spoil, and desire to rob and kill;" and their purpose was to carry the city by assault if they could, and, putting it to the sack, bear off the plunder in their ships.

With this view, they landed some pieces of artillery, and "planted them along the water-side, right over against the city, and there they shot off lustily, to annoy the citizens as much as possible." The citizens, on the other hand, brought their great artillery to bear, —greater no doubt and more, — "and with violent shot thereof, so galled them that they were driven even from

their own ordnance. But Falconbridge was not so inexpert a soldier as to have expected more from this mode of attack than that it might occupy the attention of the Londoners, and serve as a diversion, while more serious attempts were made. He landed about 3000 men on the Middlesex side, with orders to form them close into two bodies, the one to attack Aldgate, the other Bishopsgate, while another part of his army were to set fire to the bridge, and open a passage there. London Bridge had suffered no such fierce assault since the repulse of Olaf: about sixty of the houses thereon were consumed; but this availed the assailants nothing; for the citizens had planted cannon at the further end, which commanded the passage. The magistrates and other worshipful citizens were in good array, and each man "appointed and bestowed where he was thought needful." The earl of Essex, and many knights, esquires, and gentlemen, with their friends and servants, came to aid the citizens, "taking great pains," says Holinshed, "to place them in order for the defence of the gates and walls, and furthermore devised how and in what sort they might sally forth upon their enemies to destroy them; and surely by the intermingling of such gentlemen and lords' servants in every part with the citizens they were greatly encouraged."

Yet the rebels, as they are called, "bore themselves stoutly," especially the Essex men.* Under a captain of the Bastard's, by name Spiring, they won the bulwarks at Aldgate, and drove the citizens back within the portcullis; a handful of them had entered in pursuit when the portcullis was let fall: some were killed by it, and others, who were thus shut in, and cut off from aid, were presently dispatched. They continued to assault the gate, endeavouring to burn it; and guns and bows were well plied on both sides, the bow being used with more effect than the fire-arms. At length Robert Basset, the alderman, who had been appointed to command at this point, and Ursewick, the recorder, "both

* "Harnessed in their wives' cheeseclouts," says Hall.

well armed in strong jacks," ordered the portcullis to be raised, and sallied out with a good body of the citizens. The rebels, being thus unexpectedly attacked, were driven back to St. Botolph's church; and at that moment earl Rivers, with some 400 or 500 men, well apparelled for war, issued at the postern by the Tower, and "mightily laid upon them. And first he plagued them with the swift and thick flight of his arrows, and after joined with them at hand-strokes." But they had lost heart now, and were put to the rout, and pursued, "first to Mile End, and from thence some unto Poplar, some to Stratford and Stepney, and in manner each way forth about that part of the city, the chase being followed for two miles in length." The Essex men dispersed in their flight, and each made the best of his way home; the others fled to the water-side, and, getting to their ships, crossed the river, and joined the great body of their companions. When the news of their defeat was known, their fellows, who were assaulting Bishopsgate, retired also. In these attacks, and in their flight, about 700 of the insurgents were slain. There were fires burning, all at once, at Aldgate, Bishopsgate, and on the bridge; but when the Bastard, who directed in person the attack against the bridge, learnt the ill success of his detachments, he also withdrew; and the alderman, Ralph Josselin, who commanded there, and whose "hardy manhood," the chronicler says, "is not to be passed in silence," sallied after him, followed the pursuit along the water-side, till they came beyond Ratcliff, and slew and took very many." Yet Falconbridge gathered together as many of his broken troops as he could, encamped on Blackheath, and remained there three days, in the hope that some fortunate event might occur, of which he might take advantage. When it was known that king Edward was coming with a "right puissant army," he durst no longer abide. His land forces consulted their own safety by timely dispersion: the soldiers from Calais returned thither with all speed; and he, with his

mariners, and such as chose a piratical life, got to shipboard, and sailed down the river, and fortified himself at Sandwich.*

Only five days after the retreat of this enterprising leader from Blackheath, Henry VI. died, happily for himself, whose life would henceforth only have been a continued martyrdom, but so opportunely for the house of York that his death has been accounted among their crimes. Whether it was brought about by violence, or by grief acting upon an enfeebled frame, is, and probably will for ever remain, uncertain. Falconbridge's attempt had shown that there would always be danger while this poor king lived; but, on the other hand, the resolute resistance which the Londoners had opposed to one who presented himself in Henry's name, evinced that the Lancastrian party in the metropolis was effectually subdued. The crime was needless, even upon their own views of policy. Had they deemed it necessary for their own security, it would have been committed without remorse. The spirit of the age, and the dreadful necessity of his situation excused the merciless acts of Edward to himself: but if he had been by nature capable of any generous impulse or virtuous feeling, he would not have detained the dethroned, widowed, and childless Margaret as a prisoner, till he had obtained a large ransom from her father.

The host which Edward had raised was indeed a formidable one: he entered London with 30,000 men, and, halting there for one day only, went with his whole army towards Canterbury. The rapidity of his movements, and the force with which he moved, show how highly he rated the ability and the daring spirit of Falconbridge: the Bastard, on his part, well understood Edward's character, and his own comparative weakness. He had seven and forty ships under his command in Sandwich harbour; these were better means for negotiation than for maintaining a contest which, when he commenced his enterprise, seemed an equal one, but was

* Holinshed, 322—324.

now become desperate. He offered, therefore, upon an assurance of pardon for himself and all who were with him, to deliver up the town and the fleet. This offer, "upon great consideration, and by good deliberate advice of council, it was thought best to accept." The Bastard could make no conditions for those who had been made prisoners during his expedition: some of these had been lucky enough to fall into the hands of people who ransomed them "as if they had been Frenchmen."* But Spiring's head was set up over Aldgate, where he had led the assault; and Bishopsgate bore a like barbarous trophy, in the head of Quintin, a butcher, who had commanded in that quarter. Edward himself, visiting divers places in Kent, sate in judgement upon those who had aided in the commotion; after which the lord marshal and other judges were appointed to carry on the course of justice, — or of law. The mayor of Canterbury was executed, and several persons at Rochester, Maidstone, and Blackheath. About an hundred were put to death in Kent, and many of the wealthy commons in that county "were set at grievous fines, both for themselves and their servants." The Essex men did not escape, "divers of them being hanged between Stratford and London." Falconbridge himself, notwithstanding the pardon which he had obtained at the king's hand, was apprehended in the ensuing autumn, and put to death †; and his head was set on London bridge, "looking Kentward."‡

One of the Lancastrians still remained, who, like lord Falconbridge had taken to the seas. This was John Vere, earl of Oxford. It is said that the battle of Barnet would have been won by the Lancastrians, if his

* Fabyan, 662.

† "Being afterwards at sea, and roving belike as he had used before, he came at length into the open haven at Southampton, and there taking land was apprehended." — *Holinshed*. The English authorities place this in the same year. It appears in Rymer that the king of Portugal, Alfonso V., sent Joam de Elvas to complain of the piracies which Falconbridge had committed upon his subjects, and that, after due enquiry, restitution was promised. I have not an opportunity of verifying my references to the Fœdera; but I find in them that in these documents which are dated 1473, the Bastard is spoken of as still an outlaw and a pirate. Rymer, xi. 767—769.

‡ Holinshed, 328. Fabyan, 663. Turner iii. 237—240. (8vo. edition.)

men, after a successful attack upon the Yorkites, had kept their array, and not fallen to rifling; "and if on the drawing up of a fog (which was imputed at the time to friar Bungay's enchantments), the star with streaming rays, which was the badge of his men, had not been mistaken for the sun, which was king Edward's, by Warwick's archers. Oxford fled from that field in the belief that his chaplain would have betrayed him *; but he was still of good cheer, and doubted not to repair the disasters of that day: nor was his own courage subdued when the battle of Tewkesbury, the murder of prince Edward, and the death of Henry, extinguished the last hopes of the house of Lancaster. After remaining more than a year in Scotland, he sailed to France, and hovered about the coast, till successful piracy enabled him to maintain some 400 followers. With these he made for the Land's End, and, entering Mount's Bay, partly by force, partly through the fear of the inhabitants, but mostly, it is said, "by a subtle shift," he got possession of the castle on St. Michael's Mount, and thought himself strong enough to keep the castle and the bay against all assailants. He and his people often ventured into the country, and were well entertained there, both for the earl's own sake, and for the hatred which was there borne to king Edward. It was indeed on the prevalent disaffection in these parts that his hope of maintaining himself could have been founded; and it was, so far, well founded, that when the sheriff, Bedringham by name, besieged the Mount, with orders to take or kill the earl, the siege was so faintly prosecuted, and with so little wish of bringing it to a successful issue, that the earl, when provisions were begining to fail him, found means of revictualling the Mount, a place which could only be reduced by famine. When Edward, who neglected no danger, was informed of this, he sent "one Fortescue, with a stronger and faithfuller company, to prosecute the siege; and he continued it, for the castle was not easy to be had, being by nature strongly set, by policy well victualled, and by manhood

* Fabyan, 661. Holinshed, 313. Turner, 322.

valiantly defended." At length it was found easier to shake the fidelity of the earl's people than to starve the place: "strong pardons" were offered to them, accompanied with "rich promises;" and the effect was such, "that if the earl, fearing the worst, and judging it better to try the king's mercy than to hazard the extremity of taking, on which rested nothing but assured death, had not wholly submitted himself, he had been by his own men most dishonestly betrayed, and suddenly taken prisoner." Four months and fourteen days he held the castle, and it was stored for six months more, when he found it necessary thus to yield himself up a prisoner. He stipulated only for his life, well knowing that more would not be granted; and, "to be out of all doubtful imagination Edward sent him over the sea to the castle of Hammes, where, during twelve years, he was in strong prison shut up, and warily looked to."*

If Oxford's intention, in occupying St. Michael's Mount, had only been to secure for himself a port* to which he could at any time return, and a strong-hold wherein to deposit the booty which he might acquire by sea-roving, he should rather have taken possession of Lundy; for the state of the English navy was such, that great difficulty might have been found in bringing against him a naval force. When Edward had resolved upon invading France, in resentment for the assistance which Louis had afforded to his enemies, the diminution of our naval strength during the civil wars was made apparent; there was an equal deficiency of ships, of seamen, and of maritime skill. Charles the Bold, who incited him to the undertaking, supplied him with more than 500 vessels for the passage of his army: they were chiefly from Holland and Zeeland, and well adapted for the transport of cavalry. One William Philpott, the master of a ship called the Peter of London, received a commission to impress as many mariners as were wanted †; but when all was ready, the passage and the troops from Dover to Calais was not completed in three

A.D. 1474.

* Holinshed, 427, 428, 429. † Rymer, xii. 4.

weeks. Luckily for the English, Louis, though he had begun to give some attention to naval affairs *, had made no preparation for disputing the passage; and it was effected with the loss only of some small transports, which were captured by a single privateer. The army was more formidable than any which the conquerors of Cressy and Poictiers and Agincourt had led into France. Edward IV., whatever his military talents were, had always been a successful leader, for which cause his men had entire confidence in him; and so exhilarating were the thoughts of a French war to the English people, that the imposts which were raised for it were paid with cheerfulness. It was well for both countries, though honourable for neither, that the king of France, who cared not by what means he could bring about his politic designs, was willing to purchase peace, and that the king of England, a reckless and dissolute man, preferred money to such glory as might be gained by a career of conquest. Louis feared, despised, flattered, and cajoled him, bribed his favourites, and outwitted his counsellors. The French were thus confirmed in their opinion, that though it was difficult to deal with the English in the field, they might always be outreached in negotiation †; and from that time, in all their treaties with England, their statesmen have felt as full a presumption of their own superiority, and generally as well founded, as English soldiers and sailors have always manifested in battle.

During the remainder of Edward's reign no thought

* Comines says, "quand le roy nostre maistre eût entendu le fait de la mer, aussi bien qu'il entendoit le fait de la terre, jamais le roy Edouard ne fust passé, au moins au cette saison; mais il ne l'entendoit point; et ceux à qui il donnoit authorité sur le fait de sa guerre, y entendoient encores moins," p. 263. But it will be seen presently that Louis attended to the construction of ships of war.

† "Jamais ne se mena traité entre les François et Anglois, que le [illegible] des Francois et leur habilité ne se monstrât par-dessus celle des Anglois; et ont les dits Anglois un mot commun, qu'autrefois m'ont dit, traitant avec eux; c'est, qu'aux batailles qu'ils ont eues avec les François, toujours, ou le plus souvent, ils ont eu la gain, mais en tous traitez qu'ils ont eu à conduire avec eux ils y ont eu perte et dommage." — *Comines. Coll. des Mém.* t. xi. p. 180.

"Sans point de doute, comme j'ai dit ailleurs, les Anglois ne sont pas si subtils, en traitez et en appointemens, comme sont les François, et quelque chose qui l'on en die, ils vont assez grossement en besogne: mais il faut avoir un peu de patience, et ne débattre point colerıquement avec eux." — *Idem*, 298.

was taken for maintaining a naval force; and when Richard had made his way by wicked means to a crown, of which, if it had rightfully devolved to him, he would have been most worthy, so little could he attend to these means of defence, that when Richmond, on his first attempt against the usurper, sailed from Bretagne with a fleet of forty sail, the seas were wholly unguarded. He set forth with a prosperous wind; "but toward night the wind changed, and the weather turned, and so huge and terrible a tempest so suddenly arose, that with the very power and strength of the storm the ships were disparkled, severed, and separated asunder. Some by force of weather were driven into Normandy, some were compelled to return again into Bretagne. Richmond himself, with only one other bark in his company, arrived off the entrance of Poole harbour, and not being deceived by invitation to look upon the soldiers who occupied the shore as his friends, "weighed up his anchor, halsed up his sails, and having a prosperous and streinable wind, and a fresh gale, sent even by God to deliver him from that peril, arrived safe in Normandy." The tempest which dispersed his fleet had been his preservation; for if he had effected a landing after the failure of his confederate Buckingham, the fortune of the Tudors would, in all human likelihood, never have obtained that ascendant which brought with it to this nation so much evil, and so much greater good. *

A. D. 1483.

But the measure of the Plantagenets' crimes was full. The house of York had taken vengeance for the wrongs of Richard II., upon the house of Lancaster; it was then divided against itself. The sins of Edward IV. were visited upon his children; those of Richard III. upon his own head. Of all the enemies whom this last of the Plantagenet kings had designed for destruction, Richmond alone survived; but the dreadful measures which the king had taken for his own security, drew after them more inevitable danger, for they turned from him the hearts of the people. Richmond was waiting at the French coast for a second opportunity of asserting his

* Holinshed, 419.

weak and ill-founded claim to the throne, when he was joined there by the earl of Oxford, who had been twelve years in the castle of Hammes, "in strong prison, miserably kept, and diligently looked to." James Blount, the captain of that castle, and sir John Fortescue, the porter of the town of Calais (perhaps the very person to whom Oxford had surrendered himself at St. Michael's Mount), were among those who thought it wiser to brave king Richard's power than live in constant fear of his suspicions; and, making common cause with their late prisoner, they offered their aid to Richmond, having secured Hammes for him. Oxford was the most important adherent whom Richmond could possibly have obtained, not only because of his "high nobility" and experience in war, but because of his character, and constant fidelity to the house of Lancaster; for Richmond well understood that such as, having adhered to the white rose formerly, proffered their services to him now, were actuated either by personal enmity toward king Richard, or by fear lest they should become the victims of his suspicious tyranny. All things now favoured him. Deceived either by self-confidence or the treachery of his advisers, Richard supposed there was no danger of invasion, and recalled the ships of war which he had appointed to keep the narrow seas: Richmond sailed, therefore, without fear of meeting any opposition upon his passage, and landed at Milford Haven with only 2000 men. The king then felt that a prince who is dreaded by all about him is in danger from all. "Not a few noble personages, who inwardly hated him worse than a toad or a serpent, resorted to him with all their power and strength, wishing and working his destruction." He met with the fate which he deserved in the battle of Bosworth, and the crown was transferred from the Plantagenets to the house of Tudor.*

* Hollinshed, 427, 428. 434.

CHAP. IX.

THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VII. TO THE DEATH OF QUEEN MARY.

A. D. 1485. THE "great minishment and decay of the navy, and the idleness of the mariners," were represented to Henry VII.'s first parliament; and it was affirmed that, unless reformation were made therein, "this noble realm, within short process of time," would not be of ability and power to defend itself. An act*, therefore, was passed, that the wines of Guienne and Gascony should be imported in none but English, Irish, or Welsh ships, manned by English, Irish, or Welsh men, for the more part, or men of Calais, or of the marches of the same. This act was repeated in the fourth year of Henry's reign, and Toulouse woad was included in the enactment; it was also ordained that no natives should freight an alien ship "with any manner of merchandise," either for export or importation, if sufficient freight were to be had in English vessels, on pain of forfeiture, one half to the king, the other to the seizers. In a subsequent act†, the commons stated how of time that no mind is, the navy passing the Straits of Morocco, and so to diverse ports in those parts, had been maintained, to the great increase of merchants and mariners, especially by lading of malmsey in the port of Candy; but that recently the Venetians, to whom that port pertained, had, for the maintenance of themselves and their navy and mariners, laid a new impost there of four gold ducats (amounting to 18*s*.), upon every butt of malmsey, over and above all other customs and charges afore that time used; this was represented as a great hurt, requiring a special remedy: and the remedy devised was,

* 1 Hen. 7. c. 8. † 4 Hen. 7. c. 10.

to impose the same charge upon every butt imported by merchant strangers, to require that each butt should contain 126 gallons, or be abated in its price in proportion as it fell short of this quantity, and to fix 4l. as the maximum price at which any such butt of such wine should be sold. This act was to endure so long as the Venetians exacted their impost, and no longer*; "Henry," says lord Bacon, "being a king that loved wealth and treasure, he could not endure to have trade sick, nor any obstruction to continue in the gate-vein which disperseth that blood."

Henry VII., like his contemporary Louis XI., Ferdinand of Spain, and Joam II. of Portugal, was a sovereign whose character was suited to the times that formed it. The spirit of chivalry had passed away: its pomp and circumstance survived; but it no longer influenced the actions of kings, nor in any degree affected the affairs of nations. Wider views were now entertained, and schemes of cooler policy pursued, in which there was not so certainly more wisdom as there was less generosity. In our own country the change was felt throughout all the higher ranks of society. That destruction of the great baronial power which the sword and the axe had begun during the struggle between the houses of York and Lancaster, was completed by Henry, who, in effecting an object so necessary for the safety of the crown and the tranquillity of the nation, displayed at the same time his foresight and his want of grateful feeling. To this cause, as much as to any or all others, we may ascribe the practice, at this time so much complained of, of ejecting the yeomanry, and converting arable into pasture land. The great lords, whose importance no longer depended upon the force they could bring into the field, found that money was of more consequence to them than men, and they cleared their estates of what they now deemed superfluous tenants, with inhumanity as reckless as that of William the Conqueror when he depopulated the New Forest. One of the most sagacious

* 7 Hen. 7. c. 7.

of Englishmen has praised the wisdom with which Henry and the parliament endeavoured to check the progress of this evil. "Inclosures," he says, "they would not forbid, for that had been to forbid the improvement of the patrimony of the kingdom; nor tillage they would not compel, for that was to strive with nature and utility: but they took a course to take away depopulating inclosures and depopulating pasturage, and yet not by that name, or by any imperious express prohibition, but by consequence."* This was done by an ordinance, that all houses of husbandry which had been used with twenty acres of ground and upwards, should be kept up for ever; the intent being, to "amortise a great part of the lands of the kingdom unto the hold and occupation of the yeomanry or middle people, of a condition between gentlemen and cottagers or peasants:" for this, it was thought, "did wonderfully concern the might and mannerhood of the kingdom, to have farms as it were of a standard sufficient to maintain an able body out of penury." Heretofore it had been considered as for the great surety of the king, and of the realm of England, that the Isle of Wight should be well inhabited with English people, for the defence as well of his avowed enemies of the realm of France, as of other parties." But now, in consequence of the new system for improving estates, "many towns and villages had been let down, and the fields diked and made pasture; and many dwelling places, farms, and farmholds, that of old time were wont to be in many several persons' holds and hands, and many several households kept in them, and thereby much people multiplied, and the same isle thereby well inhabited, were now engrossed by one man, by reason whereof the isle was desolate and not inhabited, but occupied with beasts and cattle; so that," said the act, "if hasty remedy be not provided, that isle cannot be long kept and defended, but open and ready to the hands of the king's enemies, which God forbid!" The remedy provided was, that no man should take more farms

* Bacon's Works, iii. 234, 235. Montagu's edition.

in the island than one, "of manors, lands and tenements, parsonages and tithes," the annual rent of which, collectively, should exceed ten marks.*

Henry was too wise a man not to seek peace and ensue it, so long as a pacific course of policy could be pursued with safety and with honour: but the most peaceful state is at all times liable to have its tranquillity endangered by the measures of its neighbours; and Henry, — though disquieted in his kingdom by the pretensions, first of an impostor, and, secondly, of one, the truth or falsehood of whose claim to the character in which he appeared, the most critical investigation has only rendered doubtful, — watched with proper jealousy the designs of France both on the side of Bretagne and of Flanders. His views upon this subject were laid before parliament by Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, then lord chancellor, in a speech remarkable for its moderation and wisdom. It represented that the French king was making hot war upon the duke of Bretagne, and that both parties had prayed the king's aid; and that he, after as much pains and cost to effect a peace as ever he took in any business, not being able to remove the prosecution of the war on the one side, nor the distrust caused by that prosecution on the other, had let fall the treaty, not as repenting, but despairing, of it. Wherefore he prayed the advice of his parliament, whether he should enter into an auxiliary and defensive war for the Bretons against France. "His grace," said the chancellor, "doth profess that he truly and constantly desireth to reign in peace; but his grace saith he will neither buy peace with dishonour, nor take it up at interest of danger to ensue; but shall think it a good change if it pleases God to change the inward troubles and seditions, wherewith he hath been hitherto exercised, into an honourable foreign war. As touching both the French king and the duke, they were the men with whom he was, of all other friends and allies, most bounden, — the one having held over him

1488.

* 4 Hen. 7. c. 16.

his hand of protection from the tyrant, the other having reached forth unto him his hand of help for the recovery of his kingdom. But howsoever these things do interest his grace in his particular, yet he knoweth well that the higher bond that tieth him to procure, by all means, the safety and welfare of his loving subjects, doth disinterest him of those obligations of gratitude, otherwise than these, that, if he be forced to make war, he do it without passion or ambition. If it be in the French king's purpose (or if it should not be in his purpose, yet if it shall follow all one as if it were sought), that he shall make a province of Bretagne, and join it to the crown of France, then it is worthy their consideration how this may import England, as well in the increasement of the greatness of France, by the addition of such a country, that stretcheth his boughs unto our seas, as in depriving this nation, or leaving it naked of so firm and assured confederates as the Bretons have always been. For then it will come to pass, that whereas, not long since, this realm was mighty upon the Continent, first in territory and after in alliance, in respect of Burgundy and Bretagne, which were confederates indeed, but dependent confederates: now, the one being already cast, partly into the greatness of France, and partly into that of Austria, the other is like wholly to be cast into the greatness of France; and this island shall remain confined, in effect, within the salt waters, and girt about with the coast countries of two mighty monarchs. For the example, it resteth upon the French king's intent. For if Bretagne be carried and swallowed up by France, as the world abroad conceives it will, then it is an example very dangerous and universal, that the lesser neighbour's estate should be devoured by the greater. For this may be the case of Scotland towards England, of Portugal towards Spain, of the smaller estates of Italy toward the greater; and so of Germany; or as if some of you of the commons might not live and dwell safely beside some of these great lords. And the

bringing in of this example will be chiefly laid to the king's charge, as to him that was most interested and most able to forbid it. But then, on the other hand, there is so fair a pretext on the French king's part, (and yet pretext is never wanting to power), in regard the danger imminent to his own estate is such, as may make this enterprise seem rather a work of necessity than of ambition, as doth in reason correct the danger of the example. For that the example of that which is done in a man's own defence cannot be dangerous, because it is in another's power to avoid it. But in all this business the king remits himself to your grave and mature advice, whereupon he purposeth to rely."*

That advice was, that the king should espouse the cause of the duke of Bretagne, and send him speedy aid, for which a large supply was voted. That aid proved unavailing: the French warily confined themselves to a war of skirmishes; the duke died, the nobles were engaged in factions and intrigues, and the English, perceiving this, and "considering that it was in the midst of winter, in the which time it is not wholesome for men to lie in the frosty and moist field, were compelled, in manner by necessity," within four months after their landing, to return to England †; and the annexation of Bretagne to the crown of France was brought about by marriage, the best means whereby such unions can be effected. On the side of Flanders, the French were taking advantage of the turbulent state of that country, to pursue their own plans of aggrandisement. The whole of the Low Countries had devolved to an infant son, upon the death of his mother, the only daughter of Charles the Bold; and the government was administered, in trust for him, by his father Maximilian, king of the Romans. The people were tenacious of their rights and privileges, the king of his authority; moderation and equity were alike disregarded by both: and though both parties avoided any thing like a general engagement, a war in detail was

* Parl. History, i. 451—455. † Hall, 442.

carried on,—not of that kind which was denominated bad war, in which no quarter was given, but in which, by agreement, a ransom was fixed per head; and both parties reserved to themselves the right of burning houses and churches!* The war then extended throughout Flanders, Brabant, Hainault, and Namur. Things were in this state, when Philip, the young lord of Ravensteyn, forsook his lord Maximilian, and got possession of Sluys, with its two castles, which he manned and victualled, and made himself strong both by water and by land. He got possession of Ypres also, counting not only upon the disposition of the Flemings, but upon the aid of France. This was gladly supplied by the sieur des Cordes, who had revolted from the service of his own sovereign, Charles the Bold, to that of Louis XI., and was now lieutenant in Picardy for Charles VIII.: he, as one who had sufficient instructions upon any such offered occasion so to do, despatched 8000 Frenchmen to assist the Flemings in this revolt, and instructed them to take and occupy such towns as were on the way between France and Bruges, or Calais and Bruges. The sieur des Cordes, indeed, used to say that he would gladly lie seven years in hell, so that Calais were in possession of the French †; and his views of aggrandisement included both the English pale and Flanders.

Ravensteyn sent 4000 Flemings to join his allies: they besieged Dixmude, laying their siege on the north side of the town, in a marshy ground, which was then dry; and they so deeply ditched their camp, and so highly trenched it, planting their artillery on the trench, that they thought it in a manner impossible for any assailant to enter their camp, or annoy them in it. Henry was duly informed of their proceedings. He desired nothing less than to have the English pale en-

* "Het was een schadelijcke oorloghe, sonder eenige ordinante, want de ruyters ende knechten aen beyden sijden hadden een compact ende overdracht met malcanderen ghemaeckt van rantsoen te geven, als een pont-groot-vlaems, ende yeghelijck die woude mochte alsoo veel huysen ende kercken aen brande steken als hy woude."—*Oude Chronijcke van Holland*, &c. 542.

† Hall, 445. Holinshed, 499.

vironed with French fortresses; and he perceived that if the French won Dixmude, they could then attack Nieuport and Gravelines: and, "consequently, what with force and what with corruption, that their purpose was to have the possession of the young duke Philip and of all Flanders, which could not be to the profit of him nor his subjects." He sent over, therefore, to Calais, with all speed, 1000 archers and soldiers, chosen men, under lord Morley; and on their arrival a report was spread, pursuant to his instructions, that they were come to defend the pale, in case any attempt should be made against it by the French or Flemings. But, drawing soldiers from that garrison, and from Hammes and Guisnes, about 2000 men, under the deputy of Calais, lord Daubeney and lord Morley issued out at nightfall, left 600 archers at Gravelines, for a stale, and also to keep the passage, and, proceeding to Nieuport, where they found 600 Germans, with whom the enterprise had been concerted, halted there for the remainder of the night. On the morrow, as they advanced toward Dixmude, they came to a gallows near the highway, on which the people of that town were about to hang one of the besieging army, who had ventured among them as a spy. Luckily for him, he recognised among the English sir James Tyrrell, who was then captain of Guisnes, and, calling out piteously upon him, promised, if his life might be saved, to guide them so that they might come upon the enemy unperceived, and to be the first assailant himself. On that condition his pardon was obtained from the magistrates and captain of the town; and on the day following he led them out at the south gate, under a high bank set with willows, which covered them from the sight of the besiegers, so that they came unperceived to the end of the camp, and there halted. The lord Daubeney then commanded all men to send back their horses and waggons; Morley, however, said he would ride till he came to hand-strokes. So they passed on till they came to a bank, low on that side, where the ordnance was planted, and a

1489.

ditch in front of it. The archers shot one flight of arrows, and immediately fell prostrate: and the enemy, discharging, in all haste, all their artillery, overshot them: upon which they instantly rose, let fly a second flight, and beat them from their guns. The Germans leapt the ditch with their pikes*, and then helped up the English who waded it; and while these "set on the enemy, and slew and took many prisoners," others hasted by the causeway to enter at the north gate of the camp; and here lord Morley, being on horseback in a rich coat, was singled out, and shot. His death was dearly and wickedly revenged, for every man killed his prisoner, and no further quarter was given. The account which states the number of the slaughtered at 8000 must be greatly exaggerated: it is said, however, on the authority of some Flemish chronicle, that of 2000 men who went from Bruges to this siege, not 100 returned. The loss of the English was less than that little number. They took all the artillery, and sent it with the spoils of the camp to Nieuport, while they proceeded to Ostend, hearing that it was occupied by some French; but the French evacuated that place in time, and, having burnt part of it, Daubeney returned, left his wounded at Nieuport, and carried Morley's body to Calais for honourable interment. "The field was profitable to the English; for they that went forth in cloth came home in silk, and they that went on foot returned on great horses." †

The sieur des Cordes, who was at Ypres with a large force, was "sore discontent" at this overthrow, and, thinking to be revenged, came and besieged Nieuport strongly. His men fared well; for the three principal cities of Flanders, where the popular cause prevailed, took care that they should be abundantly supplied. They

* "*Morishe* pikes they are called by Hall, *morice* by Holinshed. Does this mean moorish, *i. e.* marsh pikes, so called as being meant to serve on occasion for leaping-poles? During the famous siege of Ostend the besieged had a company of leapers, who used "a long and great pike, with a flat head at the nether end thereof, that it should not sink too deep into the mud. With these they could clear a ditch four and twenty feet wide." — *Grimestone's Hist. of the Netherlands*, p. 1299.

† Hall, 445, 446. Holinshed, 494.

carried on the siege with vigour, and breached the wall in many places; as the besieged, on the other hand, plied their artillery with effect, and such of the wounded English as could either stand or draw a bow never left the walls. At length the assailants one day gave a great assault to one of the towers, and entered it by force, and set up the banner of the sieur de Cordes; but, "as God would, during the assault, a bark from Calais, with fourscore fresh English archers, come straight to the town. The women of the place no sooner perceived them, than they cried with lamentable and loud voices, 'Help, Englishmen! help, Englishmen! Shoot, Englishmen! shoot, Englishmen!' and what with the help of such as before were wounded and hurt men, and of the courageous hearts of the new-come archers, and the stout stomach and diligency of the women, who, as fast as the Englishmen struck down their enemies, were ready to cut their throats, they retook the town, and also the French who had entered it, and rent the banner of the lord des Cordes, and set up the pennon of St. George." The enemy, supposing that a great succour had arrived, gave over the assault, and during the following night broke up the siege.*

The semblance of peace between the two countries was now no longer observed. Henry called a parliament, and opened it in person, saying, "My lords, and you the commons, when I purposed to make a war in Bretagne by my lieutenant, I made declaration thereof to you by my chancellor; but now, that I mean to make a war upon France in person, I will declare it to you myself. That war was to defend another man's right, but this is to recover our own; and that ended by accident, but we hope this shall end in victory. The French king troubles the Christian world. That which he hath is not his own, and yet he seeketh more. He hath invested himself of Bretagne; he maintaineth the rebels in Flanders, and he threateneth Italy. For ourselves, he hath proceeded from dissimulation to neglect, and

1490.

* Hall, 446. Holinshed, 495.

from neglect to contumely. He hath assailed our confederates; he denieth our tribute. In a word, he seeks war. So did not his father, but sought peace at our hands; and so perhaps will he, when good counsel, or time, shall make him see as much as his father did. Meanwhile, let us make his ambition our advantage, and let us not stand upon a few crowns of tribute or acknowledgment, but, by the favour of Almighty God, try our right for the crown of France itself; remembering that there hath been a French king prisoner in England, and a king of England crowned in France. Our confederates are not diminished. Burgundy is in a mightier hand than ever, and never more provoked. Bretagne cannot help us, but it may hurt them; new acquests are more burthen than strength. The malecontents of his own kingdom have not been base, popular, nor titulary impostors, but of an higher nature. The king of Spain (doubt ye not!) will join with us, not knowing where the French king's ambition will stay. Our holy father the pope likes no tramontanes in Italy. But howsoever it be, this matter of confederates is rather to be thought on than reckoned on: for God forbid but England should be able to get reason of France without a second. At the battles of Cressy, Poictiers, Agincourt, we were of ourselves. France hath much people, and few soldiers. They have not stable bands of foot. Some good horse they have; but those are forces which are least fit for a defensive war, when the actions are in the assailants' choice. It was our discords only that lost France; and, by the power of God, it is the good peace which we now enjoy that will recover it. God hath hitherto blessed my sword. My people and I know one another, which breeds confidence; and if there should be any bad blood left in the kingdom, an honourable foreign war will vent it, and purify it. In this great business let us have your advice and aid. If any of you were to make his son knight, you might have aid of your tenants by law. This concerns the knighthood and spurs of the kingdom, whereof I am father; and

bound not only to seek to maintain it, but to advance it. But, for matter of treasure, let it not be taken from the poor sort, but from those to whom the benefit of the war may redound. France is no wilderness; and I that profess good husbandry, hope to make the war, after the beginning, to pay itself. Go together, in God's name, and lose no time; for I have called this parliament wholly for this cause." *

The cause for which Henry thus appealed to parliament appeared "so just, that every man allowed it;" and, to spare the poorer classes, "whom he ever desired to keep in favour," the king raised money by an oppressive levy, misnamed a benevolence: it had been devised by Edward IV., and practised by him without the authority of parliament, and its abolition by Richard was one of the popular acts of that prince, who gave sufficient indication that he would have governed well, if the succession had rightfully devolved to him. While the armament against France was preparing, Henry sent a naval force to assist Maximilian in reducing the Flemings to obedience. This was an enterprise in which the interests of England were immediately concerned; for Ravensteyn "being," says lord Bacon, "not only a subject rebelled, but a servant revolted, and so much the more malicious and violent," had got together ships enough at Sluys to carry on a thriving trade of piracy against the vessels of all nations that passed along that coast, either to the great mart of Antwerp, or to any part of Brabant, Zeeland, or Friesland. The adjacent country and Picardy supplied him abundantly with victuals, and France afforded him secret assistance, for its own ambitious purposes. This was "to the great damage of Englishmen," who were spoiled and captured by these pirates, and it was an evil which could not easily be abated; for when Ravensteyn was "set for" by land, he fled to the sea; and when he was chased on the sea, he sought refuge in his two strong castles at Sluys, and ever he had succour from Bruges and Ghent. Maximilian had often

* Parl. Hist. i. 461.

attempted to get possession of Damme, thus both to cut off Bruges from the sea, and Ravensteyn from the resources of that great and flourishing city; but he had failed in all his attempts. Albert, duke of Saxony, now interfered, ostensibly as an umpire between Maximilian and his subjects, but, in truth, a fast friend to the former. Upon this pretext he repaired to Bruges, and, desiring to communicate with the states upon matters of great importance for their good, desired peaceable entrance for himself and a retinue of men-at-arms fit for his estate, though somewhat the more numerous, he said, the better to guard him in a disturbed country. This having been granted, his carriages were sent before him, and harbingers to provide his lodging. The men entered peaceably, and he followed, they that went before still enquiring for inns and lodgings, as if they would have rested there, and so going on till they came to the gate that leads towards Damme, they of Bruges the while only looking on, and giving them passage. At Damme, no danger was apprehended from the side of Bruges. The captains, who knew that some fresh attempt was likely to be made against them, supposed this body of men to be succours sent them by their friends; and so, mistrusting nothing till it was too late, allowed them to enter. By this kind of sleight rather than stratagem was Damme "attrapped and taken, to the great discouragement and detriment of Bruges, which, it was thought, while it had no recourse to the sea, must needs fall in ruin and utter extermination." *

Duke Albert immediately sent to the king of England to certify him of this success. He said that the rebellion in Flanders was kept alive chiefly by Sluys and Ravensteyn; and that, if the English would besiege it by sea, he would besiege it by land, and "so cut out the core of those wars." Henry, who was at all times distinguished for his forecast, and who wished to uphold the authority of Maximilian, readily assented to the wish

* Hall, 451, 452. Holinshed, 497. Bacon, 263, 264.

of his merchants that he should act against his den of thieves, for such it was to all that traversed those seas. He therefore despatched sir Edward Poynings, a man of approved worth, with twelve ships, well manned, and furnished with "strong artillery." With this force Poynings cooped up Ravensteyn in his fort, and held in strait siege the maritime part of the town. Duke Albert besieged the greater castle, having taken up his quarters in a church over against it. The English assailed the lesser one, issuing every day out of their ships at the ebb, and sometimes fighting up to their knees in water. This sort of war, in which there seems to have been abundant courage and skill on both sides, continued for twenty days, with less loss than might have been expected, that of the English amounting to some fifty men, among whom was a brother of the earl of Oxford. At length the English set fire to the bridge of boats by which the two castles communicated. Ravensteyn saw then that he could no longer resist with any hope of success; he capitulated, and surrendered the forts to Poynings and the town to the duke. When the duke and the English captain met in the town, "there was between them," says Hall, "great salutation." Something less agreeable occurred with the Germans in the duke's service; for, as the duke had nothing to pay them with, they demanded their wages of sir Edward. There was, however, a third party upon whom the expense was made to fall, with no injustice as regards the case between Maximilian and the town of Bruges, but with no honour to duke Albert, who had gained his first advantage by a breach of faith. The two commanders "so handled them of Bruges," that they submitted themselves to Maximilian, and paid enough of the charge of the war for dismissing the Germans and other foreign troops. Ghent and the other revolted towns followed the example of Bruges, and Poynings continued at Sluys till all things were settled." *

* Hall, 452, 453. Holinshed, 497. Bacon, 265, 266.

Maximilian's first thought, after the restoration of his authority in Flanders, was to take vengeance upon the French king for marrying the duchess of Bretagne, in breach of the contract with his daughter. He urged Henry, therefore, to cross the sea with all speed, and pursue the war with fire and sword. Henry was not ignorant that the king of the Romans was more quick in resolve than prompt in execution or firm in purpose; and though in this case he hoped, or rather expected, that policy and passion united might hold him to his intentions, he ordered a muster to be made throughout the realm, and his navy to be rigged, manned, and victualled, ready to set forward at any hour. Couriers were sent into every shire to hasten the soldiers to the sea side. "Then came without delay a huge army, as well of the low sort and commonalty as noblemen, harnessed and armed to battle; partly glad to help their prince," says the chronicler, "and to do him service, and partly to buckle with the Frenchmen, with whom the English very willingly desire to cope and fight in open battle. And immediately as munition was given, every man with his band of soldiers repaired to London." All being prepared, he despatched ambassadors to let Maximilian know that the English would set forth as soon as he was ready to join them; but Maximilian could draw no supplies from his own country, Austria, because his father was then living, nor from his matrimonial territories of the Low Countries, part being held in dowry by his mother-in-law, the duchess Margaret, and part exhausted by the late rebellion. The ambassadors represented in their letters that no prince could be more unprovided; that "he lay lurking in a corner, sore sick of the flux of the purse;" so that he had neither men, horses, munition, arms, nor money: that his will was good, if his power had been correspondent; but that no trust was to be put in his aid. Henry had doubted that it might prove thus: he commended his ambassadors for having sent him intelligence, instead of returning with it; and instructed them to keep the

matter secret till they heard further from him. His care was how to retreat with honour from a contest which, on the failure of such an ally, he could not prosecute with any reasonable hope; and how to avert the unpopularity which would be brought upon him, if the people should suppose that he had never seriously intended war, but had made use of it only as a pretext for exacting money. His council agreed with him that it was best manfully to proceed with the enterprise which they had begun; and he, still dissembling the state of Maximilian's affairs, lest it should dishearten the army, departed, in the second week of September, from Greenwich, towards the sea, "all men wondering that he took that season, being so near winter, to begin the war; and some thereupon gathering it was a sign the war would not last long."*

The king, however, gave out, that, seeing "he intended not to make a summer business of it, but a resolute war, without term prefixed, until he had recovered France, it skilled not much when he began it, especially having Calais at his back, where he might winter, if circumstances should so require." Nevertheless, he lingered on his journey toward the coast, and so much the more, because he had received letters from the sieur des Cordes, "who, the hotter he was against the English in time of war, had the more credit in a negotiation of peace, and, beside, was held a man open and of good faith." The overtures were not such as he could dislike; but the utmost secrecy was still preserved, and on the 6th of October he embarked at Sandwich, and landed the same day at Calais, the rendezvous where all the forces were assigned to meet. No sooner had he arrived there, than "the calm winds of peace began to blow." For, first, the ambassadors arrived from Flanders, and their news was made known that Maximilian could make no preparations for lack of money, and therefore there was no succour to be expected at his hand. At this the English were "nothing abashed, trusting so much to their

* Bacon, 269. Hall, 456. Holinshed, 501.

own puissance and company; but yet "they marvelled greatly that Maximilian, receiving such great villainy not long before at the hand of king Charles, was not present to prick them forward, to cry and call, to move and exalt the Englishmen; yea," says the chronicler, "and, if he had 600 bodies, to put them all in hazard, rather than to leave the English now setting upon his daily enemies and deadly adversaries."* This intelligence, however, bravely as the army received it, acted to the king's wish as a kind of preparative for peace; and peace was earnestly desired by the king of France, that he might pursue his ambitious projects in Italy, on which account he had just concluded a peace with Ferdinand and Isabella, purchasing it, as it were, by the free restoration of Roussillon and Perpignan, which had been mortgaged to France by Ferdinand's father for 300,000 crowns. This news came also handsomely to forward Henry's hopes; "both because so potent a confederate was fallen off, and because it was a fair example of a peace bought, so that he should not be the sole merchant." His care now was only to save appearances: he appointed, therefore, the bishop of Exeter and the governor of Calais to negotiate with the sieur des Cordes; and, moving from Calais nine days after his landing there, pitched his camp before Boulogne, as if with the intention of besieging it.†

That town was well fortified and well manned; and the siege, which continued nearly a month while the treaty went on, was, though only a feint on Henry's part, serious to the besieged, whose walls were broken and sore defaced by the daily shot of his battering pieces. Few of the besiegers fell, of whom the only man of note was sir John Savage. This valiant captain was riding with sir John Risely to reconnoitre the

* Hall has before observed how *Judasly* Maximilian had deceived the king: here, however, he admits that "he lacked no heart and good will to be revenged;" but that "he could neither have money nor men of the drunken Flemings, nor yet of the crakyng Brabanters, so ungrate people were they to their sovereign lord."

† Hall, 457. Holinshed, 501. Bacon, 271.

walls, and see where they might be easiest assaulted. Some of the French sallied and surrounded him; Risely escaped by flight; but Savage, "of his high courage, disdained to be taken of such villains," and, defending himself to the last, perished through his own wilfulness. Before the peace was concluded, Henry thought it prudent that some of his best captains should advise him to it, "under their hands, in an earnest manner, in the nature of a supplication." The feint of the siege had been carried farther than he had expected, owing to the length of time employed upon the treaty; so that the town was distressed, and might have been assaulted: but, in the chronicler's words, "when every man was prest and ready to give the assault, a sudden rumour rose that peace was concluded; which fruit, as it was pleasant and mellifluous to the Frenchmen, so it was to the English bitter, sour, and dolorous; because they were ready at all times to set on their enemies, and refused never to attempt any enterprise which might seem to be either for their laud or profit. They were in great fumes, angry and evil content, railing and murmuring among themselves, that the occasion of so glorious a victory to them manifestly offered, was, by certain conditions, to no man, nor yet to the king, commodious or profitable, refused, put by, and shamefully slacked. But above all, other divers lords and captains, encouraged with desire of fame and honour, trusting in this journey to have won their spurs, who, to set themselves and their band the more gorgeously forward, had borrowed money, and for the repayment of the same had mortgaged their lands and possessions, sore grudged and lamented the sudden peace, and return of them unthought of, and spake largely against the king's doings, saying that he, as a man fearing the puissance of his enemies, had concluded an inconvenient peace, without cause or reason." But he, like a wise prince, represented what bloodshed and loss both of captains and soldiers must of necessity have ensued at the assault of such a place, so well furnished with men and munitions.

And he made it appear that the peace was no less to the honour of the English nation, than to its profit; for the French were to pay 745,000 ducats for the costs of the expedition, and 25,000 crowns yearly for the charges sustained in aid of the Bretons; and it was left somewhat indefinite when the payment was to determine, and this made the English esteem it, as a tribute carried under fair terms.*

* Rich presents were made by the French king to all Henry's principal counsellors, and large pensions assigned them, which, "whether the king did permit to save his own purse from rewards, or to communicate the envy of a business that was displeasing to his people, was diversely interpreted." His costs in the expedition were repaid, but that repayment went into his coffers; and they who had contributed to the general outfit by the forced benevolence, or who had embarrassed themselves by the expense incurred on their own, stuck not to say that, the king was willing enough to pluck his nobility and his people for the sake of feathering himself. Some made themselves merry with what he had declared in parliament, "that after the war was once begun, he doubted not but to make it pay itself:" he had kept promise, they said. From Calais Henry wrote letters to the lord mayor and aldermen "(which was a courtesy that he sometimes used), half bragging what great sums he had obtained for the peace, as knowing well that it was ever good news in London that the king's coffers were full: better news it would have been," says the great historian of this reign, "if their benevolence had been but a loan."† The peace was for the two kings' lives.

No attempt had been made to oppose the passage of the English army in the invasion, nor to interrupt its communications with England: but the fleet had been annoyed by a set of homebred marauders, and the robberies and murders which these wretches committed were so frequent, and the scandal so great, that strict orders

* Hall, 456, 459. Holinshed, 502, 503. Bacon, 273. † Bacon, 274.

were given to proceed against and punish them; and Robert Willoughby de Broke was appointed marshal of the fleet, with full powers for this purpose.* Where there are facilities for entering upon such a course of life, piracy will always be a tempting and a frequent crime †, because it may be committed with so little danger of detection: it was punished, therefore, severely at this time, when the maritime states were sensible how much they were dependent upon commerce for their strength. A large ship's crew of Easterling pirates was circumvented and taken in the Meuse; they were all beheaded, and their bodies exposed upon wheels, upon the highest ridges of the sand-hills along the coast.‡ Two freebooters, Pining and Pothorst by name, who had been banished from some of the Baltic states, collected a body of outlaws, and took possession of a high and rocky island, which is called Huitsark, and described as half-way between Iceland and Greenland; from thence, like the Vitalians, they infested the northern seas, till their depredations became so serious that all the states which suffered by them united for their destruction, and effected it.§ In the next generation, the Hamburghers captured a galleon of great strength, commanded by a pirate named Knipoff; and he and seventy of his men were put to death, and exposed upon the wheel.

A.D. 1471.

1494.

1525.

The Scottish historians affirm, that the superiority of

* Rymer, xii. 485, 486. "Quidam miseri et vagabundi," they are called, "maligno spiriti seducti;" and the crimes which they were daily committing were said not only to be in contempt of the king, but "in armatæ nostræ scandalum et infamiam."

A doubt occurs to me, while here writing from my notes, whether *armata* may not in this place be used, as it sometimes was by the French, to signify an army. Fleet is its more usual signification, and in that sense I understood it when the book was before me. At present I have no means of reconsulting it, and endeavouring to ascertain whether or not I was mistaken.

† The state of Greece, and still more of Spanish America, has rendered piracy more frequent at this time than it has ever been since the days of the Buccaneers: such are the consequences of exchanging even a bad government for anarchy. In a volume of sermons recently printed at Boston (in New England), the preacher warns his hearers against being enticed to commit robbery, either on the land or sea.

‡ Oude Chronijcke van Holland, 494.

§ Olaus Magnus, p. 55. ‖ Id. 56

their seamen over the English was signally manifested in Henry VII.'s reign. They say that five chosen ships of the royal navy infested the Firth of Forth, soon after the accession of James IV., and occasioned loud complaints by the frequent captures which they made at sea, and the ravages which they committed in their descents on the coast. At length, sir Andrew Wood, of Largo, whose loyalty to the late murdered king made him at this time a malecontent, was persuaded for the honour of his country to forego his just indignation, and act against these enemies. He was urged to attack them with a greater, or, at least, with an equal force; but he said that his own two ships were sufficient; and, indeed, when the Scottish nobles, after they had murdered their king, called upon the Leith captains and sailors to reduce this officer, they were told, in reply, "that no ten ships of Scotland would dare to assault Wood's two vessels; such was his strength in men and artillery, and such his maritime and military skill."* The Flower and the Yellow Carvel were the names of his vessels: with these he attacked the five English ships, which were lying off Dunbar, captured them all, brought them to Leith, and presented their commander to the king and council.† It is further added by Scottish historians, that Henry VII., mortified by this shameful defeat, and hoping to retrieve the honour of the English navy, assembled a council of his naval officers, and offered to put any means at the disposal of him who would undertake this service, promising great rewards if Wood were brought to him either alive or dead. All hesitated, because they feared to engage with such an antagonist; till at length sir Stephen Bull‡, a man of distinguished prowess, offered himself. Three ships, chosen from the royal navy, were placed under his command: with these he sailed to the Forth, and anchored behind the Isle of May, waiting Wood's return from

* Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland, ii. p. 3.

† Ib. 14. Buchanan, xiii. s. 2, 3.

‡ This name occurs among the captains of the fleet under sir Edward Howard in 1512.

Flanders, whither he had escorted some merchant vessels. Some fishermen were captured and detained, that by their look-out sir Andrew might be known: few days had passed before his vessels were seen coming by St. Ebb's Head, and the fishermen were set at liberty as soon as they had recognised them for sir Andrew's ships. It was early in the morning when the action began; the Scots, by their skilful manœuvring, obtained the weather-gage, and the battle continued, in sight of innumerable spectators, who thronged the coast, till darkness suspended it. It was renewed at daybreak: the ships grappled; and both parties were so intent upon the struggle, that the tide carried them into the mouth of the Tay, into such shoal water, that the English seeing no means of extricating themselves surrendered. Sir Andrew brought his prizes to Dundee: the wounded were carefully tended there; and James, with royal magnanimity, is said to have sent both prisoners and ships to Henry, praising the courage which they had displayed, and saying that the contest was for honour, not for booty.*

The French paid little attention to their navy at this time, but they did not wholly neglect it, as the English had done during the civil wars and the dissolute reign of Edward IV. Louis XI. had a ship which was said to be the largest man-of-war that had ever been seen: it was of such force that it put a whole fleet of Hollanders

A.D. 1475.

* Pinkerton, 15, 16. Buchanan, s. 6. There is no mention of either of these actions in any of the English historians; and Pinkerton who says that this silence will excite little doubt "in those who know the tame and meagre information presented by the original historians of England at this period," admits that Lindsay, whose narration he follows, "appears to have amplified these incidents" by his partiality. There can be no doubt of this. The "*royal navy*," was in no state at that time to have employed five chosen ships upon such a service; and the chroniclers were neither likely to have overlooked actions in themselves so remarkable, nor to have dissembled them, because the event had not been honourable to the English arms. They were too honest for this, and the nation was too brave to require any such concealment; and, undoubtedly, these circumstances would have been referred to, as enhancing the triumph when sir Andrew Barton was defeated. The story of the naval council I take to be mere fiction; and suppose that the five vessels captured in the first action belonged to private adventurers, and their loss of so little import to any but the parties concerned, that Hall, if he ever heard of it, did not think it worth recording.

shamefully to flight, and destroyed and captured nearly seventy sail*, to the ruin of many merchants and ship-owners. Much wild-fire was used by the French ship in this action. Yet this vessel, which was then so formidable to a people not less remarkable for courage than for seamanship, was afterwards engaged and taken by a Genoese carrack; which carrack was in its turn captured by some Hollanders.† There was a spirit of enterprise in the French ports, which the English could not partake while their country was perpetually disturbed by factions or by intestine war. A fleet of Norman privateers captured fourscore Flemish vessels, which were bound to the Baltic, for the herring fishery, and for grain; and this was said to be the greatest loss that the Flemings had sustained by sea for more than a hundred years.‡

A.D. 1479.

But though fewer naval incidents occurred under Henry VII. than in the reign of any of our earlier kings, that reign belongs to the most important age of maritime history.

The conquest of Carthage had put an end to the progress of navigation, at a time when, but for the overthrow of that great maritime power, West and South Africa, and the Eastern world, would soon have been opened to its enterprising merchants. The spirit of maritime discovery being thus extinguished, the art of navigation became stationary; and received no new impulse till the revival of that spirit in the beginning of the fifteenth century. But even in the darkest ages there were some who believed that the ocean was every where navigable§;

* Oude Chronijcke, 499. The Dutch chronicler confesses the shamefulness of the defeat, and is not likely to have exaggerated the loss. The *Colomne*, he says, was the name of that great ship.

† Ib. 513.

‡ Continuation of Monstrelet, xi. 317.

§ This belief was founded upon a notion that the Romans had navigated the seas in all parts. "Certè nulla est in mundo regio Mediterranea, nulla media via, nullæ mediæ insulæ, quas potestas Romana non adierit. Qui proferendi nominis curiosissimâ indagatione ultimam omnium insularum Filetam probant, quod insulam sub ipsâ perustâ plagâ positam, ipsosque hyperboreos trans polum nostrum feliciter viventes investigare labore, maximo etiam cum vitæ periculo, studuerunt. Quorum industriâ probatum est oceanum ex omni parte mundi esse navigabilem."

This remarkable passage occurs in an epistle which Martene and Durand believe to have been written, about the year 890, by Remigius Autissiodorensis to Dado, bishop of Verdun — *Coll. Amplise.* i. 238, 234.

and that islands were to be found there, as well as in the navigated seas, was so received an opinion, that stories of discovering such were common both in the fictions of hagiology and romance. The progress of discovery, after its commencement, was slow, but it was continuous; and it was accelerated as the Portuguese were emboldened by experience and success. Something more than eighty years elapsed after the first expedition which was sent out by the infante don Henrique before Vasco da Gama reached the coast of Malabar; and the second fleet which sailed from Lisbon to India was driven to the coast of Brazil. America would thus have been discovered, though Columbus should never have been born. The time for that discovery was come.

Portugal refused the proposals of Columbus, because that government knew that its ships were pursuing the certain course to India, and would not be persuaded to try an uncertain one. Henry VII. assented to them; and if Bartholomew Columbus had not been captured in his way to England by pirates, and long detained by them as a slave at the oar, the ships which discovered the New World would have sailed under the English flag. Other nations have no reason to repent that the glory of that discovery, the influx of wealth which was its immediate consequence, and the immeasurable amount of national guilt incurred in the conquest, should have fallen to the lot of the Spaniards. Any other people would too surely have committed crimes as great: but it may be questioned whether any other would, in that age, have manifested the same redeeming virtues. Henry was so "sharpened" by Columbus's success, that he assented to the proposal of John Cabot (who, though a citizen of Venice, resided then at Bristol), and by his letters patent authorised him and his three sons to sail with five ships, under the English flag, to all parts, countries, and seas of the East, of the West, and of the North; there to "seek out and find whatsoever isles, countries, regions, or provinces of the heathen and infidels whatsoever they might be; and to set up his ban-

A. D. 1495.

ner in every village, town, castle, isle, or mainland by them newly found; and, as his lieutenants, take possession of all such places as they could subdue and occupy." The question of right was as little regarded by the king of England as by Charles V. and pope Alexander. The expedition was to be at Cabot's own cost; and the king, after all charges were defrayed, was to have "in wares or money," the fifth part of the profit. There is no account of this voyage: but in a second, on which he was licensed to sail with six ships, not exceeding the burthen of 200 tons, Sebastian Cabot discovered Newfoundland and the coast of Florida. One of the ships was sent forth at the king's cost; some London merchants ventured small stocks in her: the others were belonging to Bristol merchants, of whom Robert Thorne and Hugh Eliot were the chief: and they were "fraught with slight and gross merchandises, in coarse cloth, caps, and laces, points, and other trifles."*

A.D. 1497.

The use of fire-arms, without which the conquests of the Spaniards in the New World must have been impossible, changed the character of naval war sooner than it did the system of military tactics, though they were employed earlier by land than by sea. It has not been ascertained when cannon † were first employed at sea: though less cumbrous and unwieldy than the old engines, they necessitated very material alterations in the structure of war ships. The first port-holes, it is believed, were contrived by a ship-builder at Brest, named Descharges, and their introduction took place in 1499. They were "circular holes, cut through the sides of the vessel, and so small as scarcely to admit of the guns being traversed in the smallest degree, or fired otherwise than straight forward." The first use made of this contrivance was the addition of another tier: and the consequent enlargement in the ship's dimensions led to a change in the composition of the navy. For

* Hakluyt, iii. p. 4—10. Capt. Southey, Chron. Hist. of the West Indies, i. 49—51.

† According to Charnock it was by the Venetians against the Genoese, before 1380. vol. ii. p. 6.

hitherto there had been no distinction between those few vessels that had been specially built for the king's service and such as were used for commerce; but thenceforth the king's ships began to form a distinct class, appropriated solely to the use for which they were constructed. It was, however, still necessary, when any emergency occurred, to reinforce the navy by hiring some of the largest ships that could be obtained, and not from English merchants alone, but from the Genoese, the Venetians, and the Hanse Towns.*

As merchant ships were thus hired for the navy in time of war, so, during peace, it appears that the king's ships were employed in trade, or freighted to the merchants.† Henry was very desirous of maintaining the relations of peace and amity with other countries. In the commission to one of his ambassadors, he says: — "The earth being the common mother of all mankind, what can be more pleasant and more humane than to communicate a portion of all her productions to all her children by commerce?" He renewed old commercial treaties, made new ones, obtained privileges for our fishers on the coasts of Iceland and Norway, and tried the experiment of lowering the customs on certain articles, with the hope of increasing their exportation. The treaty which he concluded with the archduke Philip, — after, in consequence of a dispute with him, a total stop had been put to the trade with the Low Countries, — was called the great commercial treaty (*intercursus magnus*). It was framed with the greatest care to render the intercourse between the two countries permanent, and profitable to both; and when the English returned to Antwerp (whither they had removed their factory from Bruges some few years previous, and where there was not the same frequent danger of popular commotions),

* Charnock's Hist. of Marine Architecture, vol. ii. p. 26. 28, 29.

† Henry, vi. c. 565. The fact is deduced from the statute concerning wine and woad, which has before been noticed, 1 Hen. 7. c. 8.; but, probably, the royal trader did not go beyond the importation of wine for his own household.

they were conducted into the city with all public demonstrations of joy.*

Henry VIII., who in other respects so little resembled his father, endeavoured, like him, by every means to promote the commerce of the kingdom, and increase its maritime strength. With this view, the act concerning the importation of wine and woad was twice renewed during his reign †; and old laws for clearing the navigable rivers from weirs and other obstructions were enforced, and new ones enacted to prevent the stream works of the tin mines from choking the harbours in Devonshire and Cornwall. The squadron, which carried 1600 English archers under the lord Darcy to assist Ferdinand in his war against the Moors of Granada, consisted of four "ships royal." A truce had been made before they arrived, so that they had no opportunity of displaying any thing more than their good-will for fighting, and their extreme licentiousness and insubordination.‡

A. D. 1511.

The first incident in the naval history of this reign grew out of a circumstance which had occurred many years before, and was itself followed by consequences of the greatest moment. A Portugueze squadron had, in the year 1476, seized a Scottish ship, laden with rich merchandise, and commanded by John Barton. Letters of reprisal were granted him, which, it seems, he had either not been able to use, or had adventured with them unsuccessfully; for, after an interval of no less than thirty years, they were renewed to his three sons, Andrew, Robert, and John, authorising them and their assignees to seize upon Portugueze ships, till they should have thus repaid themselves in the sum of 12,000 ducats of Portugal. Up to this time no application for redress had been made to the Portugueze government; and, when now made by the Rothsay herald, who was especially delegated to conciliate this dispute, and restore the ancient amity between the two crowns, there is reason to

* Henry, vi. 562. Ib. v. 8. Rymer, xii. 281. 374—381. 578.
† In 1515 and in 1531. ‡ Hall, 521. Holinshed, 561.

believe that the Scottish demands were too high, and that sufficient cause for recrimination had already been afforded. The Bartons not only enriched themselves, but, "in some degree supplied by Portugueze captures, the want of distant trade;" and, when they felt their own strength, they seem, with little scruple, to have considered ships of any nation as their fair prize.* Complaints came against them from the Netherlands; and, in whatever character they may have appeared to their countrymen, it is certain that other nations regarded them as pirates. Henry VIII. was at Leicester, in the summer of 1511, when tidings were brought to him that Andrew Barton robbed every nation, under the pretext that James, his master, was at war with the Portugals: that he stopped the king's streams, so that no merchants almost could pass; and saying, when he took Englishmen's goods, that they were Portugueze property, he "haunted and robbed at every haven's mouth." Henry's position at that time with regard to France, made him unwilling to break with Scotland; and the complaints of the merchants were but coldy received, till the earl of Surrey, then treasurer and marshal of England, declared at the council board, that while he had an estate that could furnish out a ship, or

* "In conformity," says Charnock (i. 360), "with what had been the general conduct of all northern countries some centuries earlier, and what, in all probability, would still have continued to be so, had not the increasing power of the southern nations prevented it, the Scots were rather addicted to that indiscriminate, partial, and predatory warfare named piracy, than to general acts of naval hostility. In their national character as seamen they were skilful, and the tempestuous latitude under which they lived of necessity caused them to be so. Their situation was so remote as almost to bid defiance to any attack from the southern nations of Europe; and the vessels which private individuals thought proper to equip for this species of service were always of such force, and so well manned, according to the custom and practice of the times, as almost to treat opposition with contempt. England was too much harassed by intestine contests to attempt the punishment of what might be considered private enormities. France was their ally. The northern countries possessed no naval force capable of contending with them; so that, according to the trite remark of every nation in the world, by turns, acquiring an ascendency over its neighbours, the Scottish ships were permitted to continue their depredations, nearly without opposition, for more than a century; till the rising consequence of Henry VII., with the more permanent and enlarged establishment of the English navy in the reign of his son and successor Henry VIII., closed at once all the exertions of Scotland towards the creation of a marine."

a son that was capable of commanding one, the narrow seas should not be so infested.

Surrey had two sons capable of such a charge, — sir Thomas and sir Edward Howard. Two ships were immediately made ready, at their or at their father's expense, it is supposed, but with the king's knowledge and consent, though not by his special commission or immediate authority. The two brothers lost no time in putting to sea: they were separated by chance of weather. The same chance separated sir Andrew Barton's two ships, with which he was then infesting the Channel, the Lion, which was his own vessel, and the Jenny Perwin, or Bark of Scotland *; and sir Thomas, as he lay in the Downs, descried the former making towards its own country. Immediately he gave chace, and sped so well that he overtook it, "and there was a sore battle. The Englishmen were fierce, and the Scots defended them manfully, and ever Andrew blew his whistle to encourage his men: yet for all that the lord Howard and his men, by clean force, entered the main deck. Then the English entered on all sides, and the Scots fought sore on the hatches; but, in conclusion, Andrew was taken, being so sore wounded that he died there, and then all the remnant of the Scots were taken, with their ship." Meantime sir Edward Howard had

* Their strength is thus described in the old ballad, by a merchant whom sir Andrew had just robbed, and who relates his tale to sir Thomas Howard: —

"He is brass within, and steel without,
With beams on his topcastle strong;
And thirty pieces of ordinance
He carries on each side along;
And he hath a pinnace dearly dight,
St. Andrew's Cross it is his guide:
His pinnace beareth nine-score men,
And fifteen cannon on each side.

"Were ye twenty ships, and he but one,
I swear, by kirk and bower and hall,
He would overcome them every one
If once his beams they do down fall."

The ballad, however, is but apocryphal authority; it sinks the pinnaces, and makes the old English gunner, Peter Simon,

— "put in chain full nine yards long
With other great shot less and moe,"

and kills a thousand men with one shot.

fallen in with the Bark of Scotland, "laid him on board," and, though the Scots defended themselves like "hardy and well-stomached men," carried it by boarding. Both prizes* were brought to Blackwall; and the prisoners, 150 in number, being all that were left alive (so bloody had the action been), were sent to Whitehall, which was then the archbishop of York's palace, there to be kept at the king's charge, till other directions should be taken for them. The bishop of Winchester, and certain other of the king's council, were deputed to deal with them there; and the bishop rehearsed to them, says the chronicler, "that, though there was peace between England and Scotland, they, contrary to that, as thieves and pirates, had robbed the king's subjects within his streams, wherefore they had deserved to die by the law, and to be hanged at the low-water mark. Then said the Scots, 'We acknowledge our offence, and ask mercy, and not the law:' and a priest, which was also a prisoner, said, 'My lord, we appeal from the king's justice to his mercy.' Then the bishop asked if he were authorised by them to say thus, and they all cried, 'Yea, yea!' 'Well, then,' said the bishop, 'you shall find the king's mercy above his justice; for, where you were dead by the law, yet by his mercy he will revive you. You shall depart out of this realm within twenty days, on pain of death if ye be found after the twentieth day: and pray for the king.'" James is said to have been wonderful wroth at the death of sir Andrew, and the loss of his two ships. He sent letters, requiring restitution, according to the league between the two kingdoms; but Henry, replying, "with brotherly salutation," represented "the rob-

* Pinkerton says that "Barton's ship, the Lion, had the honour of being the second ship of war in the English navy, the Great Harry, built in 1504, having been the first; for, till that time, only merchant vessels had been occasionally used in warlike affairs," p. 71. But Charnock (ii. 28.) says that the Great Harry was built by Henry VII., and launched a little before his death; and it has been seen that *ships-royal* were mentioned from the beginning of this reign. *King*'s ships, indeed, are spoken of in earlier documents; and Charnock affirms, that, even before the reign of Edward III., certain ships appear to have been built and employed solely in the public service, i. 362. He refers to a memoir in the Archæologia, by Mr. Willet, read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1793.

beries and cruel doings of Andrew Barton, and said it became not a prince to charge his confederate with breach of peace for doing justice upon a pirate and thief." The case, indeed, was so flagrant, that the claim for restitution could not be insisted on; yet it left behind it so deep a feeling of resentment, that the war which speedily ensued, and which, by the early death of the Scottish king, prepared the way for the union of the two crowns, is believed to have originated chiefly in this cause.*

The Scottish parliament, in the reign of the preceding king, had passed an act forbidding any ship freighted with staple goods from putting to sea during the three winter months, under a penalty of five pounds.† But so widely had their views changed in the course of one generation, that great exertions were made for training seamen and raising a maritime force. An act was passed in 1493, whereby, considering the great innumerable riches that were lost for want of ships and busses to be employed in fishing, and the policy and gain that might be had thereby, and for the sake of making idle men and vagabonds labour for their living, to the eschewing of vice and idleness, and for the common profit and universal weal of the realm, it was ordained that ships and busses, the least to be of twenty tons, should be made in all burghs and towns within the realm, and fitted out according to the substance of each town, and provided with mariners, nets, and other gear for the taking of great fish and small. The officers in every burgh of regality were to make all the stark idle men within their bounds go on board these vessels, and serve there for their wages, or, in case of their refusal, banish them from the burgh. In the burghs of barony which were near upon the sea, the sheriff was to pursue the same course: and the officer or sheriff who neglected the duty should pay a fine of twenty pounds in the royal exchequer.‡

This act appears to have produced no effect: the

* Hall, 525. Hollinshed, 565. Pinkerton, 69—71. Campbell, i. 264.

† Acts of the Parl. of Scotland, ii. 87. A. D. 1467. The term fixed was from the Feast of St. Simon and St. Jude to the Purification.

‡ Pinkerton, ii. 21, 22. Acts of the Parl. of Scotland, ii. 235.

people were in too lawless a state for any such enactment to be enforced. What, however, could be effected by the king's will was done. James IV. built a ship, called the Great Michael, which, according to Scottish writers, was larger than any that had ever sailed from England or France, and of superior strength. "The ship," they say, "was of so great stature, that she wasted all the oak forests of Fife, Falkland only excepted;" but it must be remembered that the Scots were at that time little less barbarous than the Irish, and that, in the constant feuds between families and clans, the woods had been destroyed, by some to prevent the danger of ambuscades, by others to cut off the possibility of refuge. Timber for this ship was also brought from Norway; and, though all the wrights in Scotland, and many others from foreign countries, were busily employed upon it by the king's command, it was a year and a day before it was completed. It is described as twelve-score feet in length, and thirty-six feet within the sides, the sides being ten feet thick, so that no cannon-shot could go through them. "This great ship cumbered Scotland to get her to sea. From the time that she was afloat, and her masts and sails complete, with anchors offering thereto, she was counted to the king to be thirty thousand pounds expense, by her artillery, which was very costly." She had 300 mariners to sail her, six score of gunners to use her artillery, and a thousand men of war, captains, skippers, and quarter-masters. Sir Andrew Wood and Robert Barton were two of the officers, "that this large body," says Pinkerton, "might not be without a soul."*

* Pinkerton, ii. 68. Charnock, i. 359. The former says that the authenticity of the description appears incontestable, because it was from Wood and Barton that Lindsay the historian derived it. He knows not whether the larger cannon were sixty-four in number or thirty-two. The official account says that "she bare many cannon, six on every side; with three great bassels, two behind on her deck, and one before; with three hundred shot of small artillery, that is to say, *myand* and *batterd*[1], falcon, and quarter falcon, *flings*, pestilent serpentens and double dogs, with hagtor and culvering, corsbows and handbows."

[1] Query, bastard?

This huge ship, so disproportionate to any service whereto it could be applied, was neither so successful as to have any of its exploits recorded, nor so unfortunate as to leave a tragical remembrance of its fate. No purpose was served by it except that of gratifying the king, who seems to have had a passion for ship-building. Louis XII., for obvious motives, encouraged him in his endeavours to create a maritime force, and with this view presented him with two large ships equipped for war.* But there was no remissness on the part of England, while its old enemies were increasing their naval strength. When "it was concluded by the body of the realm in the high court of parliament assembled, that war should be made on the French king and his dominions, Henry with all diligence caused new ships to be made, and repaired and rigged the old; and caused guns, bows, arrows, and all other artillery and instruments of war to be made in such number and quantity, that it was wonderful to see what things were done both for sea and land in so short a space."† Sir Edward Howard was ordered with all diligence to take the sea; and, while his brother, sir Thomas, now called the lord Howard, proceeded to Spain, under the marquis of Dorset, with 10,000 men (where Ferdinand employed them, ingloriously for themselves, while he took possession of Navarre), he sailed with twenty ships for the coast of Bretagne, landed in divers parts near Conquet and Brest, and ravaged the country, burning and wasting towns and villages; the Bretons sadly exclaiming, "Alas! the king of England hath ever before this time been our ally, and now he intendeth to destroy us: shame come to him that is the cause thereof!" The want of concert among the people, rather than of courage or good-will, prevented them from making any vigorous resistance to these invaders. A council was held; and, seeing there was no trust in the commonalty, and that the gentry alone could not defend the country,

A. D. 1509.

1511.

* Pinkerton, 69. n.

† Hall, 527.

they resolved upon an appeal to the humanity of the English admiral. Certain of the nobles, therefore, having obtained his safe-conduct, went off to the fleet, and entreated him to "surcease from his rigorous and cruel war, and especially from burning their towns, which, they said, could be no profit to him. If he wished to have Brest castle, it should be at his command, so he were able to defend it: for themselves, they desired nothing so much as peace." Whatever might have been the lord admiral's wishes, his commission allowed him no such discretion as he was now supplicated to use. And he replied, "Nay, we are sent hither to make war, and not peace." They then requirted a six days' truce, for God's sake, that they might send to their king, and inform him of their distress. But to this he answered, that gentlemen ought to defend their country by force, rather than to sue for peace, — a prouder answer than the occasion required or justified. The conference, however, terminated in mutual courtesies; the Breton lords were entertained with a banquet on board, and the admiral sent ashore for fresh provisions and water; then hearing that the French had ships of war at sea, he coasted Normandy, and scoured the seas in search of them, without success; and at length, thinking that they might perhaps appear on the English coast, he took his station by the Isle of Wight, to await them.*

The havoc which this expedition had made in Bretagne had provoked the French government to great and well-directed exertions in their marine; and they collected thirty-nine sail in Brest harbour, under a Breton admiral of doubtful name.† Their preparations were such, that Henry, on his part, caused all his remaining ships and galleys to be made ready for reinforcing the lord admiral: the Regent, a ship royal, being "the chief ship of that navy."* The soldiers for this fleet

* Hall, 532. Holinshed, 871.

† Primaguet the French historians called him. This name it seems, is unknown in Bretagne; and the historian of that province conjectures that it ought to be Poramoguer: the English call him Pierce Morgan, with more appearance of being right.

were mustered on Blackheath, and sir Anthony Oughtred, sir Edward Ickynghame, and William (father of the excellent sir Henry Sydney, and grandfather of the admirable sir Philip), were appointed with other gentlemen captains, for that time. On the way to the Isle of Wight a galley was lost by the negligence of the master. "The king desiring," says Hall, "to see his navy together," rode to Portsmouth, and there appointed his master of the horse, sir Thomas Knevet, and sir John Carew, of Devonshire, captains of the Regent; and to another ship-royal, called the Sovereign, he appointed sir Charles Brandon and sir Henry Guildford; and with them in the Sovereign were put sixty of the tallest yeomen of the king's guard; and many other gentlemen were made captains. "The king made a great banquet to all the captains, and every one sware to another ever to defend, aid, and comfort one another without failing, and thus they promised before the king, which committed them to God. And so, with great noise of minstrelsy, they took their ships, which were twenty-five in number, of great burden, and well furnished with all things." The lord admiral's force, after this junction, consisted of forty-five sail, and with these he resolved to sail and attack the enemy.*

The two fleets came in sight of each other, on St. Lawrence's day, off St. Mahé, on the coast of Bretagne. The English had the advantage in number, the French in the size of some of their ships: their admiral, Le Cordelier, which belonged to the queen, carried 1200 soldiers, besides seamen, according to the French; but the English estimate the whole number at 900, their own largest vessel, the Regent, carrying 700. There was another vessel in the enemy's fleet, large enough to be called the great ship of Dieppe. "When the Englishmen," says the chronicler, "perceived the French navy to be out of Brest haven, then the lord admiral was very joyous; then every man prepared according to his duty; the archers to shoot, the gunners to loose,

* Hall, [illegible]. Hollinshed, [illegible]. Campbell, i, [illegible].

the men of arms to fight, the pages went to the top castle with darts. Thus all things being provided and set in order, the Englishmen approached towards the Frenchmen, which came fiercely forward, some levying his anchor, some with his foresail only, to take the most advantage; and when they were in sight, they shot ordnance so terribly together that all the sea coast sounded of it." — "The lord admiral made for the great ship of Dieppe, and chased her still, and she was also attacked by the Regent; while the Sovereign made with the Cordelier, and laid to that huge carrack stem to stem: but whether by the master's fault, or mishap by reason of the smoke, the Sovereign was cast at the stern of the Cordelier, and with this advantage the Frenchmen shouted for joy." Knevett was at this time ready to have boarded the great ship of Dieppe, but seeing that the Sovereign had missed the Cordelier, he made for that carrack and grappled it; and when the French saw that they could not loosen themselves, they let slip an anchor, and so with the stream the ships turned; and the carrack was on the weather side, and the Regent on the lee side. The fight then was "very cruel, for the archers of the English part, and the cross bows of the French part, did their uttermost;" but finally the English entered the carrack. In what manner the dreadful catastrophe was caused is variously reported, and never can be ascertained. One account says, that sir Anthony Oughtred "chased hard at the stern of the carrack, and bowged her in divers places, and set her on fire." Another, that a varlet gunner, when he saw that the English had entered the ship, desperately fired her powder.* Both ships were presently in flames; they

* P. Daniel's story (T 7 p 314) is, that the Cordelier was set on fire by fireworks thrown by an English vessel, that most of the men, when they saw that it was impossible to extinguish the flames, threw themselves into the sea, in hopes of swimming to the other ships, but that Primauguet resolved to perish, and at a dear cost to the enemy; *il fit force de voiles, joignit l'amiral d'Angleterre, et l'accrocha sans jamais le lâcher, il s'anima à l'abordage, et le feu de son vaisseau, qui étoit au-dessus du vent, se communiqua à l'Anglois.* He adds, that the action was *très-glorieux* for the French, and that the English lost some ships. Campbell says, "It seems this accident struck both fleets with amazement, so that they separated without

were now so grappled, that it was impossible for them to separate, and both were consumed. The French, fear and horror struck, fled in all haste, some to Brest, some to the isles adjoining. The English, who were also "in manner dismayed," sent out boats to save their countrymen in the Regent; but the fire was so great, that none durst approach; and except some few Frenchmen, who were picked up by the James of Hull (worthy to be named for having thus distinguished itself), all on board both ships perished,—900 in the French, 700 in the English! *

This event is said to have been happy for the French navy, for otherwise "they would have been better assailed of the Englishmen, who were so amazed at this chance that they followed them not." The English fleet lay that night in the bay † where the action was fought. The lord admiral called his captains together, and exhorted them not to be abashed by this chance of war; it was the worse fortune, he said, that could happen to them, and they must now study to be revenged. So, as the enemy had dispersed, they resolved to scour the coasts of Bretagne, Normandy, and Picardy; many ships they took, and such as they could not carry away they set on fire, "to a great number, small and great, and thus they kept the sea." ‡

It was because of the loss of the Regent that Henry is said to have advised "a great ship to be made, such as was never before seen in England," and which is well known in our naval history by the name of Henry Grace de Dieu, or the Great Harry. The Grace de Dieu was (as has been seen) a name of earlier date; and there is reason to suppose, that when the ship which bore it became, through age and decay, unfit for service, a successor was built to which the name was transferred;

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fighting, each claiming the victory, to which probably neither had a very good title."

* Hall, 534. Holinshed, 573. Campbell, 260.

† It is variously called by the chroniclers Bretayne Bay, Bartram and Bertram.

‡ Hall, 535.

and it was long the custom to transmit it as it were lineally and hereditarily to the principal of the king's ships.* There are many ancient representations †, more or less authentic, of the Great Harry: its cost is said to have been nearly 11,000*l.*; and it appears that 400 men were employed during four whole days in working the ship from Erith, where it was built, into Barking creek, a circumstance which the historian of modern architecture observes, "proves very sufficiently the inexpertness of the navigators, or the unwieldiness of the vessel; not improbably both."

Meantime it had been determined that the king himself in person, with an army royal, should invade what was called "his realm of France," with fire and sword. The archbishop of Canterbury, who in his office of lord chancellor opened the session, began his speech with the text, "Justice and mercy have kissed each other;" he said, that in proclaiming war with an enemy, we ought first to examine the justness of the quarrel, and the intention of the proclaimer; and he observed, that in those who took the field and hoped for victory, it was absolutely necessary that they should walk in the ways of the Lord, and on him alone place their dependence; that every one should keep to the post he was ordered to, and that each should be contented with his pay, and abstain from all plunder. ‡ When the king's determination was made known, "no man," says the chronicler §, "can doubt, but that preparation was made of harness, weapons, artillery, banners, and all other things necessary for such an enterprise." But neither were preparations for defence neglected. The commons represented that the land of Bretagne and the haven of

* Charnock, ii. 27.

† "We may learn from these," says Charnock (ii 28), "the derivation of many terms preserved even to the present hour, though the parts consonant to those on which the names were first bestowed have long since become so materially altered in their form, that without this, or some similar clue, we might be at a loss to trace the true cause of its first application. Among these we may number the round top, the yard arm, and, rude as its form is in the painted record, and also perhaps in the original itself, the forecastle."

‡ Parl. Hist. i. 479.

§ Hall, 535.

Brest lay straight opposite the south coast of Cornwall; that the French and Bretons, by reason of their fishing upon that coast, knew every haven there, and creek and landing-place as well as any of the king's subjects; and that seeing the said county was threescore miles and ten in length, "and the substance thereof little more than six miles in breadth from the southern to the northern sea," they knew that no great number of people could speedily be collected to oppose them at their landing, and that at many of the landing-places there was neither pile, blockhouse, nor bulwark, — considerations which gave the enemy "audacity, comfort, and courage to arrive and land there." The justices and sheriffs of the county were therefore required to visit the coast from Plymouth to the Land's End; and when this was done, every mayor and constable was ordered to see that the inhabitants repaired with proper instruments to the places appointed, and there made good and substantial bulwarks, brays, walls, ditches, and all other fortifications needful. The same precautions were to be taken to the eastward, wherever the local authorities should deem them necessary. Such works might be made upon any man's ground, of what estate or degree soever, and stones, turf, and heath taken for the purpose, without any compensation.*

Such precautions were not uncalled for. The French king, after the last disastrous action, had sent for the most experienced of his naval commanders from the Mediterranean. The English say that he was a knight of Rhodes, and call him Prior John; he was a Gascon gentleman †, Pierre Jean le Bidoulx by name. He brought with him four "galleys of force, with divers foists and row-galleys, so well ordinanced and trimmed that the like had not been seen in these parts before his coming." The "great navy which the French had prepared, and which was so well furnished in all things, that no doubt it was a wonder to see," was lying in Brest harbour,

* 4 Hen. VIII. s. i.

† Captain Pregent, Du Bellay calls him; Pregent, the editor of the memoirs says, signifying, in the use of those times, Pierre Jean.

ready to join him on his arrival, when the English fleet of "ships royal, and others meet for war, to the number of forty-two, besides ballengers, sailed in March from Portsmouth, under the lord admiral sir Edward Howard. He made straight for the coast of Bretagne, came into Bertram Bay, and there anchored in sight of the French fleet, which wisely kept itself close in Brest harbour. The English, with that confidence in their own courage which they had always possessed, and which the event has seldom failed to justify, determined to attack them there; and "so in good order of battle they sailed forward." But in this instance they ventured rashly, not being acquainted as they ought to have been with the navigation; and at the first entry one of the ships, whereof Arthur Plantagenet was captain, struck on a hidden rock, and "burst in sunder." Upon this all the others stayed, to their own great displeasure, and "not to the little joy of the Frenchmen, who shot at them without doing any harm. So the English captains, perceiving that the haven was dangerous to enter without an expert pilot, returned to their harborough in Bertram Bay." The enemy, not doubting that it was the intention of the English to attack them, moored their ships as near to the castle as they could, and erected "bulwarks on the land, on every side, to shoot at" their assailants. There were lying in the harbour four and twenty great hulks, which had come thither to load with salt. These they "set in a row," meaning, when the attack should be made, to use them as fire-ships, and let them drive with the stream against the invading fleet. "The lord admiral," says Hall, "perceiving the navy of France to be thus in fear, and not willing nor daring to come abroad, but to lie as prisoners in a dungeon, wrote to the king to come thither in person, and have the honour of so high an enterprise; which writing the king's council nothing allowed, for putting the king in jeopardy upon the chance of the sea: wherefore they wrote sharply to him, to accomplish that which appertained to his duty; and

this caused him to take courage and put things in adventure."*

Sir Edward Howard needed no such excitement. The very fact of his inviting the king to take part in such an adventure is proof sufficient that his own courage amounted to rashness. Meantime Prior John, with his galleys from the Mediterranean, arrived on the coast; and having learnt that the English fleet were so stationed as to prevent his junction with the Brest fleet, he entered Conquet Bay, drew his galleys to the shore, and "set his basilisks and other ordnance at the mouth of the bay, which was so bulwarked on every side, that by water it was not possible to be won." From hence he sent out his small foists, upon every fair occasion, to annoy the English, in the hope of provoking them to some rash enterprise. These were generally chased back to the bay, which the English vessels were too large to enter. At length the lord admiral manned some of his boats, and they, with the most imminent hazard, took one of the best foists, "the galleys and bulwarks shooting upon them so freshly that it was a marvel how they escaped." Sir Edward Howard bears a high character in the history of his times, as an able statesman, a faithful counsellor, and a free speaker, as well as a brave soldier and skilful seaman: but it is said to have been his maxim, that no sailor could be good for any thing, unless he were resolute to a degree of madness. To that degree the king's letter had now excited him; and he is not the only man who has been driven to destruction by an undeserved or intemperate reproof. He held a council, in which it was concluded that lord Ferrers and sir Stephen Bull should land with an adequate force to attack the land-defences, while he entered the bay "with row-barges and little galleys"—thus simultaneously to attack the enemy by sea and by land. But there was a Spanish knight on board, who persuaded him that there was less risk in entering the bay than had been supposed; and Howard, in whose heart

* Hall, 536. Holinshed, 574.

the king's words were rankling, caught eagerly at a proposal which assured him of an honourable death if he failed of eminently distinguishing himself. So he "called to him William FitzWilliam, William Cooke, John Colley, and sir Wolstan Brown, as his chief and most trusty friends, and made them privy to his intent, which was to take on himself the whole enterprise, with their assistance. These, "like men of high courage," gladly assented; and so, on St. Mark's day, "he put himself in a small row-barge, appointing three other small rowing-ships, and his own ship's boat, to attend him, and therewith rowed suddenly into the bay," where Prior John had moored his galleys fast to the shore. So hot a fire was opened upon him, both from the galleys and the bulwarks, that they who should have supported him were afraid: but he pushed forward, [illegible]ppled the prior's galley, and boarded it, the Spaniard a[illegible]enteen Englishmen bravely following him. He is [illegible]ave driven the French out, and to have been in poss[illegible] of that galley; but the enemy rallied, when they saw that he was unsupported. They reentered it. Whether they cut the cable, or the English sailors themselves let it slip, is uncertain; but his ro[illegible]-boat fell off when he would have stepped into it. Sixteen of the English and the Spaniard was slain; and Howard himself, when he saw that it was impossible to escape, took the whistle (the badge of his degree) from his neck, and threw it into the sea, before he himself was borne overboard by the enemies' pikes.*

April 25.

* Hall, 536. Holinshed, 574. Campbell, i. 263. Collins's Peerage (sir Egerton Brydges's ed.) i. 83. "He was thus unhappily lost," says Anster, "before he could have notice that he had been elected into the society of the most noble order of the Garter. The king of Scots, in a letter to king Henry VIII., bemoans his death in these words: 'And surely, dearest brother, we think more loss is to you of the late admiral, who deceased to his great honour, than the advantage might have been of winning all the French galleys: which valiant knight and others that perished had been better employed than on the enemies of Christian religion.'"

Campbell begins his series of the Lives of the Admirals, with sir Edward Howard. It seems as if Henry repented the harshness with which he had reprimanded him, and in honourable amends had given him the order of the Garter. The sharpness of that reprimand "caused him," says Holinshed, "to adventure things further than wisdom would he should, to his utter undoing and casting away; God having ordained the means by his

The lord Ferrers and other captains "much were dolent of this chance; but there were some who remarked that the admiral had acted without counsel, and so he had sped." The effect, however, upon the spirits of the sailors was such, that the officers, upon the plea that they had now no admiral in commission, determined to do nothing further till they knew the king's pleasure; and accordingly they sailed for England. Upon this the French came out of their harbour; and Prior John drew forth his galleys and foists, made for the coast of Sussex with all his company, landed there, and fired some cottages: the gentry raised the country, and drove him to his ships. Henry is said to have been "right sorry for the death of his admiral." He appointed the lord Thomas Howard to succeed him, telling him to revenge his brother's death. That lord immediately put to sea, and the enemy then thought it prudent to keep within their own ports.* Prior John was too skilful a commander, either to give his adversaries an opportunity, or to let one pass. Next year, when the seas were unguarded, he again crossed the channel to the Sussex coast, and landing in the night, at the then "poor village called Brighthelmston, he took such poor goods as he found there," and set fire to the place. But when the beacons were fired, and the people, by the time it was day, began to collect, Prior John sounded his trumpet to call his men aboard. A handful of archers, who kept the watch, followed him to the sea, and shot the galley-men from the shore; and when

A. D. 1514.

providence, which the Pagans implied (though wanting the light of grace) in the name of destiny, by them counted inevitable A destiny lamentable, considering the quality of the person, with the manner of his dying; wherein, although many vainly dispute that fortune led him to so miserable an accident, yet if we will lift up our considerations to God, we shall find that He hath reserved such a prerogative over all things which he hath created, that to him only belongeth the authority to dispose all things by the same power wherewith he hath created them of nothing. And yet the foolish world (doting in blind ignorance, but pretending a singular insight in matters of secrecy) blusheth not to talk of, or rather to assever, casualty, chancemedley, misfortunes, and such like *foolish* imaginations; whereas, indeed, the providence of God compasseth all things whatsoever, for nothing can be privileged from the ampleness of the same." — p. 575.

* Hall, 551. Holinshed, 576.

the Prior waded to his foist, they followed him into the water, till they were driven back with pikes. He lost an eye in this affair. The wound was dangerous; and looking upon his recovery as miraculous, he had his image made in wax, with the English arrow in its face, and offered it as a memorial at the shrine of our Lady of Boulogne.* The lord admiral resented this expedition, by sending sir John Wallop with a squadron to infest the coast of Normandy; where landing frequently, though with not more than 800 men, he "burnt ships and boats in the harbours," and destroyed more than twenty villages and towns, "with great slaughter of the people." One nation could not in that age reproach the other for this barbarous system of warfare, which inflicted so much misery upon individuals, without contributing in the slightest degree to bring the contest to an issue.

In the land war which meantime was carried on under the king in person, the English displayed their usual courage, and that want of wisdom which was too often felt in their councils. Terouanne was taken and burnt, and Tournay taken and retained,— a glorious but burdensome conquest, soon to be restored. Peace was made, and followed by a marriage, of which Henry's Low Country allies spake truly when they spake shamefully of it, — the marriage of the princess Mary, his sister, then in her eighteenth year, to Louis XII., a feeble and diseased old man. While she waited at Dover till the weather should be favourable for her passage, one of the fleet, a ship royal of 900 tons, was driven ashore near Sandgate, and of 600 men scarcely the half escaped, and the most part of these "sore hurt with the wreck." And when, after Henry had "kissed her and commended her to God and the fortune of the sea, and the governance of the French king, her husband," this fair lady had taken her ship, with all her noble company, and sailed about a quarter of the way, the wind arose and scattered the squadron; some got

* Hall, 569. Holinshed, 602.

into Calais, some were driven to Flanders: her ship was with great difficulty brought to Boulogne, and there, at the entrance of the haven, with great jeopardy, the master ran it hard aground."* In less than three months, this unseemly union was dissolved by the death of the French king; the widow lost no time in making a better choice for herself; and the kindness with which Henry received her after her clandestine marriage with the duke of Suffolk, was some reparation for having, in his late disposal of her, regarded nothing but state policy.†

Francis I. wished to recover Tournay, and also to form a close alliance with Henry. He proposed a conditional treaty to Wolsey, that his expected and unborn child, if it proved a son, should be married to Henry's daughter Mary, then only two years old. The hoped contingency took place, the treaty was concluded, and one of the conditions was, that on the day of the marriage Tournay should be given up to France upon payment of 600,000 crowns of gold. But it was not necessary to wait for the lapse of time, always so slow to expectant hope. Wolsey obtained a pension from the French king, and it was agreed that Tournay should be given up before the close of the year. "Then," says Hall, "began the captains and the soldiers to mourn,—and many a young gentleman, and many a tall yeoman, wished that they had not spent their time there."* Sir Edward Belknap, acting for the earl of Worcester, who was commissioned to carry this part of the treaty into effect, refused to deliver up the city to the sieur de Chastillon, who was sent to take possession of it, unless he certified, by an indenture sealed with his

A. D. 1518.

1520.

* Hall, 570. On the day after her marriage, "all the Englishmen, except a few that were officers with the said queen, were discharged, which was a great sorrow for them; for some had served her long in hope of preferment, and some that had honest homes left them to serve her, and now they were without service, which caused them to take thought, in so much, that some died by the way returning, and some fell mad; but there was no remedy."

† "No brother," says Mr. Turner, "could act more kindly than the king, on an event so trying to his pride, and so interceptive of his future politics."

seal of arms, "that it was received as a gift, and not rendered as a right to the king of France." The earl carried this punctilious spirit further, when the French, having sent in the sealed indenture, approached with colours flying: the city, he said, was neither yielded nor won, but delivered for confederation of marriage, and therefore they should not enter with banners displayed. To this also the French angrily but in good policy conformed. The cession was not a popular measure in England. The people had been proud of the conquest, and said, "that the king was evil counselled to give away the city of Tournay, because the maintenance of a garrison there should have nourished and brought up men and younger brothers in feats of war, to the great strength and defence of the realm." When the garrison returned to England, Henry sent for the "yeomen of the guard, and, after many good words, granted them four-pence a day without attendance, except they were specially commanded:" yet we are told that many a tall yeoman who lacked living, and would not labour after their return, fell to robbing, pilfering, shifting, and other extraordinary means of maintenance, whereas before they were staid upon a certainty of hope, so long as they had allowance from the king.*

The pension assigned by the French king to Wolsey on this occasion was under the colourable pretext of an equivalent for his emoluments as administrator of the diocese of Tournay. The cardinal has been charged with having listened favourably to proposals for the sale also of Calais to the French: the charge rests upon the single assertion of an historian † who, for general fidelity, is in no good repute, and who bore a particular ill will to Wolsey. According to his statement, the other ministers were sounded upon the subject, and Wolsey, when he found them averse to it, found it dangerous to proceed further. The memorable meeting between the kings of England and France, on the Field

* Hall, 596. 598. Holinshed, 635. Turner, Mod. Hist. i. 144.
† Polydore Virgil. Hume, iv. p. 15.

of the Cloth of Gold *, took place at this time: it was designed to confirm the friendship between the two kings, and, by the generous frankness which was displayed on both sides, seemed at the time not unlikely to have produced that effect. But ill omens were remembered and applied, after the event had afforded application for them. On one of the days there was such a hideous storm of wind and weather, that "many conjectured it did prognosticate trouble and hatred shortly after to follow." A more impressive incident occurred when the interview with the emperor ensued. The English had erected for this occasion a banquetting-house within the walls of Calais, "after a goodly device." † The roof was painted to represent the sky, "with stars, sun, moon, and clouds, and divers other things made above over men's heads; and there were great images of great men of divers strange nations," with escutcheons showing to what country they belonged, and scrolls declaring whom they represented. There were also, "as it were, many ships under sail,

* There is an ancient picture in Windsor Castle of Henry's embarkation for this interview in the Great Harry. *She* (for Charnock makes the Great Harry of the feminine gender) has four masts, with two round tops on each, except the shortest mizen. Her sails and pendants are of cloth of gold damasked. The royal standard of England is flying on each of the four quarters of the forecastle, and the staff of each standard is surrounded by a fleur-de-lis. Pendants are flying on the mast heads, and at each quarter of the deck is a standard of St George's Cross. Her quarters and sides, as also the tops, are fortified and decorated with heater shields, or targets, charged differently with the Cross of St. George azure, a fleur-de-lis or; party per pale argent and vert a union rose, and party per pale argent and vert a portcullis or, alternately and repeatedly. The king is standing on the main deck, richly dressed in a garment of cloth of gold, edged with ermine, the sleeves crimson, and the jacket and breeches the same; his round bonnet is covered with a white feather, laid on the upper side of the brim. On the front of the forecastle are depicted, party per pale argent and vert, within a circle of the Garter, the arms of France and England quarterly crowned, the supporters a lion and a dragon. The same arms are repeated on the stern. On each side of the rudder is a port hole with a brass cannon, and on the side of the main deck are two port holes with cannon, and the same number under the forecastle." — *Charnock*, i. 42.

† "In such manner as, I think," says Holinshed, "was never seen, with sixteen principals made of great masts, betwixt every mast four and twenty foot, and all the outsides closed with boards and canvass. Over it, and within round about the sides, were made three scaffolds or lofts, one above another, for men and women to stand upon. And in the midst of the said banquetting house was set up a great pillar of timber, made of eight great masts, bound together with iron bands, for to hold them together, for it was an hundred and four and thirty foot of length, and cost six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence to set it upright."

and wind-mills going," and platforms erected round about the great central pillar for the musicians, and "for pageants to be played when the king of England and the emperor should be at their banquet. But in the morning of the same day the wind began to rise, and at night blew off the canvass, and all the elements, with the stars, sun, moon, and clouds; and the wind blew out above 1000 torches and other lights of wax, that were prepared to give light to the banquet; and all the kings' seats that were made with great riches, besides all other things, were all dashed and lost."* If the eyes of Henry VIII. and his ambitious favourite had been opened, they might have seen typified in such an edifice, and such a catastrophe, the instability and the issue of their own projects.

A. D. 1521.

When Wolsey had alienated the king from his French connection, and was secretly negotiating an alliance with the emperor, it was part of Henry's plans that they should jointly provide for the destruction of the French navy, — "a great and high enterprise," the king thought this, "if it might suddenly be made against the French king, and thus by wisdom and good policy be brought to pass;" but he did not intend that it should proceed otherwise than by their common assent†; and the emperor was not likely to employ any part of his forces in attempting an object in which his own interests were so much less concerned than those of his ally. Before any open breach had appeared between England and France, the French captured a Spanish vessel, with English property on board, in the mouth of the Thames; "a presumptuous attemptate in his stream, which it was said the king took very displeasantly, and could in no wise be contented therewith, unless satisfaction were made to his honour to all parties, he being the more moved because the French had before, in like manner, misordered themselves in his ports. The French would

* Holinshed, 654. 656.

† State Papers, published under the authority of his majesty's commissioners, i. 23, 24.

at that time willingly have avoided a war with England; they promised full restitution, with damages and interest; but when such restitution had been awarded, after long suit in the French courts, and sentence given in favour of the demandants by due course of law, the English ministers complained that the parties were ordered to quit France on pain of their lives, with this sentence alone and no money." They complained also that French men-of-war, as well as pirates, spoiled the king's subjects of their goods at sea, and cruelly handled them, and put them in danger of their lives.* It was then neither war nor peace with France,—a state of things as favourable for the freebooter as it was injurious to the peaceable merchant. Six ships, therefore, under Christopher Coo, an expert seaman, were sent to protect the king's subjects against French, Scotch, and other rovers. A Scottish sea-rover, who seems to have been no unworthy successor of sir Andrew Barton, was captured, after a long fight, by John Arundel, an esquire of Cornwall, and presented to the king, and detained a long time prisoner in the Tower. A squadron of five ships was sent to Scotland, and entered the Forth, meaning to attack the vessels that lay in the havens there. The Scotch ran them aground; the English followed in boats, landed, burnt the vessels, and carried off some prisoners, whom they brought to London.

A. D. 1522. Charles V. was, at this time, about to remove from his dominions in the Low Countries to Spain; he proposed to make England in his way, and keep Easter there; and therefore applied to Henry to put his navy in readiness for the defence of the narrow seas, and the security of his passage from Calais to Dover, according to the treaty; and also to send convenient ships for the transport of himself and his train. The notice was very short: one reason which made it inconvenient was "the unreadiness of the navy, not being victualled with fish meet for Lent," which, it was said, "could not be

* Hollinshed, 675—677. Hall, 629, 630

† State Papers, 36. 42. 56. 59. 61.

had;" another was, that if the emperor came at the time which he appointed, it was foreseen that he and the king "would be enforced to labour in Palm Sunday week; which was not convenient," said Wolsey, "for princes, nor for meaner personages, but rather to be occupied in prayer and contemplation." He thought the emperor's hasty movement was intended to accelerate the king's declaration against France, which Henry was not bound to make till Charles should be in England. Wolsey's reasons were approved, and the visit was deferred for six weeks. The cardinal being less skilled in nautical affairs than in the intrigues of diplomacy, had proposed that the Peter Pomegranate* and the Mary Gonson should be despatched for the emperor; but the king was of opinion, that these ships were "of too great portage for those straits, and could not, by reason of their bigness, approach either to the one coast or to the other. The great galley† and two row-barges, he thought, were better fitted for the business, and sufficient for it."‡

The earl of Surrey, then high admiral of England, put to sea, "with all the king's navy," giving out that his only object was the safeguard of the emperor; but, having landed him in Spain, he made, according to his

* This ship was of 400 tons' burden. Four years later, Wolsey writes thus concerning this ship to sir Thomas More "It is somewhat to my marvel that the king's highness maketh difficulty for the lending of the Peter Pumgarnet to the ambassador of France, considering the manifold good deserts of the said ambassador, and the great profit and commodity that shall arise unto his grace thereby. It is not to be suspected that she may be used against the king's highness in any hostility, considering that the sureties shall be bound as well for that point, as for her redelivery at the year's end, and that there is more likeness of stricter conjunction with France, than of any breach. And whereas your letter purporteth that the king may have 500 marks for the loan of the said ship, besides the advantage of his customs of his own subjects · thereto it is to be considered, that the customs of the strangers amounteth far above the customs of his own subjects, for, for 100*l.* paid by the Englishmen, the stranger payeth 900*l.* Besides this, I suppose if the king have, for the loan of her, 500 marks, his grace must, at his own cost and charge, new rigg, trim, and tackle her, which, percase, would surmount the sum of the said 500 marks; whereas the ambassador offereth to do the same at his own proper expense."— *State Papers*, 174.

† In a report of this year's date, the great galley is said to be of portage 800 tons. Charnock (ii. 108.) observes, that its name never occurs in any other place. He had not seen Dr. Sampson's letter (now printed in the State Papers); and I suspect that the amount of tonnage in the report, as he has stated it, must either have been miswritten or misread.

‡ Holinshed, 94, 95. 97.

instructions, for the coast of Bretagne; commanded "the wisest masters and mariners" to buoy the haven of Morlaix, and moored his whole fleet in that haven the next night. All men were then commanded "to harness," and to advance their standards; and all soldiers to give their attendance to their captain; fourteen falcons were landed, and drawn forth by strength of men; and Surrey, at the head of about 7000 soldiers, marched towards the town in good order of battle, with banners displayed. July 1. The alarm soon spread, and "the gentlemen of the country showed themselves pricking; but when they heard the guns, they fled," says the chronicler, "as if they had never used war." Morlaix was five long miles from the landing place; the inhabitants had closed their gates, and "laid ordnance where was most jeopardy;" and the contest was carried on by the archers on one side, and the arbalasters on the other; but the master gunner, Christopher Morrice, who had brought three falcons against one of the gates, and saw that it was well defended with haebusses, cried, "Have at the wicket, and in the smoke of the guns let us enter!" A well-aimed shot struck the lock, the wicket flew open, and through the smoke the assailants entered, put the defendants to flight, and opened the great gate for their companions. When the Bretons on the walls saw that the town was entered, they fled, each as he could. Surrey displayed his banner in the market-place, and called to him certain squires, whom, for their hardiness and noble courage, he made knights. As the gentlemen suffered the soldiers to do what they would, they fell to pillaging the chests and warehouses of the merchants, for the town was very rich, and "specially in linen cloth." When they had "taken their pleasure of the town, and laden themselves with as much, for a truth, or more, than they could bear away, the lord admiral commanded the trumpets to blow, and all men to set fire to all parts of the town, the holy places excepted; the fair market-place," says Hall, "was set on fire, and the suburbs burnt ardently." They were

then ordered to their standards; burnt houses and villages as they withdrew; lay that night ashore, as if braving the enemy; and the next day, with honour (such honour as such an exploit may be thought to deserve), they took to their ships, with little or no loss. They burnt some sixteen vessels in the haven; then proceeded to St. Pol de Leon, anchored before it, and, when they attempted to land, found the Bretons too strong for them, so that all they could do there was to burn one ship of 200 tons and some smaller craft. The whole fleet next sailed into Brest haven, where the boats landed, and set some houses on fire near the castle. This wasteful war Surrey continued for more than a fortnight, till he was recalled to the Isle of Wight. "The king commended him greatly for his pains and hardiness, and praised his guard, especially fifty of them who abstained from pilfering, and never went from the lord captain."*

Soon after the imperial visit, a Spanish fleet had arrived at Portsmouth: the force consisted of 4000 men embarked in sixteen ships, well equipped, and "with five months and a half of wages." Meantime the French had not been remiss in their preparations: it was known from some prisoners, whom the Rye-men had taken at the commencement of hostilities, that they had eighteen or nineteen ships ready to sail from Havre de Grace (then called the New Haven) and from Dieppe, with the intention either of attacking Jersey, or Guernsey, or of landing 2000 adventurers in Scotland. It was proposed that the Spanish admiral, Zestano, should send some part of his fleet to sea, to form a junction with the English vice-admiral, sir William Fitzwilliam, and perform some great exploit upon the expedition on its voyage northward. But the Spaniards were slow in their proceedings; and when Fitzwilliam, some two months afterwards, was about to make an attempt against the enemy's force in Boulogne, his fleet suffered so greatly in a storm that few or none of the ships could be refitted for any service that year, either for

* Hall, 644. Holinshed, 678.

guarding the passage, or annoying the French in their fishery. The first was an object of considerable moment, inasmuch as an English army had taken the field from Calais; the other was deemed so, Wolsey being of opinion, that "to keep the Frenchmen from their fishery was one of the greatest annoyances and displeasures that could be done unto them." Such was the temper in which war was carried on in that age; projects of extensive ambition were entertained, and yet petty mischief was pursued with as much eagerness as if it were to affect the issue of the contest. Gonson, therefore, (who was afterwards surveyor of the navy,) was ordered to take such small ships as could be found at Calais and the Cinque Ports, and with these, and such as had escaped the storm, to guard the passage, and "impeach the fishery," till a force should be prepared, "for the tuition of the sea," that winter.*

A. D. 1523. In the following year, the senseless project of destroying the haven at Calais was renewed; the French supposing that, if this were effected, they should easily take the town "for fault of rescue." The scheme was craftily designed and executed: they loaded an old ship of 400 tons "with great Caen stone," in the port of Dieppe, and brought her out with a foresail and no masts; so that, as she came before Calais, all who saw her supposed "she had been weather-driven, and had lost her mast by tempest." May 24. It was about ten at night when she came to the mouth of the harbour, as if making thither for shelter; but she missed the channel, and turned to the sands towards Risebank, when the men on board, supposing that they were in the very channel, set her on fire, took to their boats, and so escaped by the shore. The people in Calais saw the fire, and were moved with compassion for the supposed sufferers. When the tide fell, they perceived the ship consumed, and the goodly Caen stones lying whole. They were speedily removed into the town, and the lord deputy, and the other lords in office at Calais, sent by their pursuivant

* State Papers, 98, 99, 100.—12. 21 23.

a letter to the captain of Boulogne, desiring him to communicate their thanks to M. Lodowyk, captain of Dieppe, for sending so fair a ship and so much goodly stone to Calais. The stone, they said, they had taken into the town, where it was of much use to them for the fortifications; and, if the French would send more, they would gladly receive it at the same price.*

At this time Albany, the regent of Scotland, who had gone to France to solicit men, money, and stores for the war against England, was preparing to return with the reinforcements which he had obtained. Fitzwilliam was therefore sent with a fleet of thirty-six sail to watch the French coast, while one smaller squadron cruised in the western, and another in the northern seas. Impatient of inaction while he hovered on the coast, Fitzwilliam and his captains determined upon a descent, that they might "do some harm to Treport," which was the seaport of the neighbouring town of Eu. Their intention was perceived; the townsmen fired the beacons, aid came to them in good time from all the fortresses in that quarter, and they erected bulwarks to defend the landing. Nevertheless the English persisted in their design: 700 men made for the shore in their boats; and though the French "shot out ordnance, quarrels, and stones," they made good their landing, stormed their bulwarks, and, crying "St. George! to the gates of Treport!" pursued the fugitives. Morrice, the master-gunner, was neither so fortunate nor so well provided as he had been at Morlaix: he attempted to force an entrance by using a broken mast, which he found by the way, as a battering ram. Anthony Knivett and Francis Newdigate, with their men, ran with it to the gate; but the gate was so strong that it could not be broken, and "at every loop lay a piece of ordnance," which was well plied, so that the assailants found it expedient to retreat. They set fire to the suburbs, "which was a fair street, and all was burnt." While the flames were raging there, they made for the

* Hall, 658. Holinshed, 687.

haven; and being unable, owing to the state of the tide, to bring out seven fair ships which were lying there, they set fire to them and reimbarked, carrying off twenty-seven pieces of good cannon from the bulwarks, not without imminent hazard of losing those who were the last on shore; nor "without some loss and damage of men both hurt and slain; as it often happeneth," says Holinshed, "where those who are unadvisedly assailed are found not unprovided." The king, however, was "singularly well contented with this valiant acquittal of Fitzwilliam and his company, as a thing much redounding to the honour of his grace and the nation, with high reproach and rebuke of his enemies;" and he directed that letters of thanks might be sent them; "by which they might, to their comfort and for their courage, understand how acceptable their good service was to him." Soon afterwards Fitzwilliam got sight of twelve French ships, aboard one of which was the archbishop of Glasgow, with other persons of rank: he chased them into a French harbour; two were lost, and Albany relanded his stores, and spread a report that the expedition was deferred till the spring. Deceived thereby, the English admiral returned to his own port, and Albany then put to sea, and effected his passage safely.*

The English were more alert in annoying the enemy's coast than in protecting their own. Six well-appointed French ships met with the Katharine galley off the coast; the galley was only of forty tons, and many of the crew ashore: but the captain, "one John Mariner, so encouraged his men, that all fear was set aside; and ever as the Frenchmen approached they beat them off with arrows and fighting, and still they continued from four in the morning till nine. By that time she had spent her arrows with shooting, and her bills with hewing, and her pikes with keeping them off from coming aboard; and almost all the company were sore hurt, and the captain wounded to the death." Then, having no other remedy, they sought to escape; and captain Mark-

* Hall, 600. Holinshed, 687. Pinkerton, 222. State Papers (Sir T. More to Wolsey), 125.

ham, of the bark of Sandwich, seeing the chase, manfully called his men out of Sandwich haven, and made, with a fair wind, to the assistance of the galley. When the enemy left their pursuit, and prepared to attack him, he comforted his men, and made the quarters of his ship defensible. "The French set on fiercely, and their tops were higher than the top of the English ship. Out went the ordnance, quarrel, and darts of the French; the English shot fiercely again, and when the French proffered to enter, beat them off with bills." At length the enemy with a great gun beat down the top of the bark, and slew those who manned it; lastly they struck down her mast. The conflict had now continued from ten of the clock till two. Markham strove then to regain the harbour, "and ever the English shot arrows while they had any left." The enemy durst not enter, till the arrows were all spent, so that they came aboard all at once and entered her. No action was ever maintained against greater odds; and the French, when they carried the bark into Dieppe, said they had never bought prize so dearly; it cost them twenty-seven in slain, and eighty sore hurt: the number of English who fell was twenty-three.* Soon afterwards four French ships chased the Rye fisher-boats to the very shore, and were repulsed when they landed with intent to carry them off. Some English men of war came up as they were departing, and two of the enemy were captured.†

A. D. 1527.

It was surprising, at a time when maritime war was confined to predatory attacks upon the coast, that points of considerable importance should have been left without due means of defence. When Wolsey, on his return from the Continent, landed at Dover, "he found it in no little disorder," he said, "and for lack of reparation in marvellous decay, clearly unfurnished of timber, stone, board, and of every other thing requisite; greatly unpurveyed of victual, and the poor soldiers far behind, and unpaid of their wages."‡ Wolsey's unstable politics had now changed: he repre-

* Hall, 673. † Ib. 674. ‡ State Papers, 123.

sented to Henry that the wars between England and France "had been in a manner the ruin of both realms;" and that the perpetual peace which by the king's high wisdom and providence was now to ensue, would be to his "eternal honour, glory, and renown, and to the repose, enriching, and tranquillity of his realm and his subjects for ever." * The king was easily guided by a minister who had not yet been shaken in his favour, and war was declared against the emperor as the first consequence of a new alliance with France. But this was a most unpopular measure; with the common people, because "the emperor's dominions had holpen them with corn, and relieved them with grain," whereas they could have little or none from France: with the merchants and clothiers, because all broadcloths, kerseys, and cottons † lay on their hands, insomuch that when the clothiers of Essex, Kent, Wiltshire, Suffolk, and other shires that used clothmaking, brought cloth into Blackwell Hall, in London, to be sold, as they were wont, few merchants or none bought any. When the clothiers lacked sale then they put from them their spinners, carders, tuckers, and such others that lived by clothworking, which caused the people greatly to murmur, especially in Suffolk; and if the duke of Norfolk had not wisely appeased them, no doubt but they had fallen to some riotous act. The king had seized upon all ships in the ports that belonged to any of the emperor's subjects; and this was much talked of by those who frequented the emperor's dominions, and they openly said that this interruption of commercial intercourse would lead to the great loss of the respective princes; "but yet Englishmen were content to obey the king and his council." English property was in like manner seized in the Low Countries; and "if this war was displeasant to many in England, surely it was as much, or more so, to the towns and people of Flanders, Brabant, Holland, and Zeeland, and especially to Antwerp and Bruges, where the marts were kept, and where the resort of Englishmen was;

* State Papers, 250. † What were these?

for they said that their marts were undone if the Englishmen came not there; and if there were no mart, their ships, hoys, and waggons might rest, and all artificers, hosts, and brokers might sleep, and so the people should fall into misery." *

The age was past in which war brought with it no other evils than those of its direct infliction; when barbarous kings went to battle with as little reflection and as little foresight as they went to the chase, and their subjects followed them with as much alacrity to the one as the other. It was now beginning to be felt what complicated interests were affected by public disputes; and when some of those empty and rash advisers, who are often found in cabinets and councils, represented to Henry that he was strong enough and rich enough to make war upon any prince in Christendom, while no prince could hurt him by war or invasion, others more sagely set before him the extent of the emperor's dominion, who was "lord of all Spain, Naples, Sardinia, and so southward to Epuskaia(?), and north-eastward from Gravelines to Riga and Revel; so that English merchants passing on those coasts were ever in danger." To this opinion the king, "as a wise, well learned, and far-casting prince," gave ear, and, "leaving the glory of war, he took mercy on his subjects." The lady Margaret, who ruled in the Netherlands, entreated him to persevere in "his godly mind and appetite of peace; and however it might hap to fall between him and Spain, yet to consider his ancient amity, and continue his good and gracious favour towards Flanders and those Low Countries, which, of all folk living, loatheth war and to have any enmity with him and his people." † A renewal of friendly intercourse was soon effected with those countries, both parties seeing their mutual interest so clearly; and how confidently the Flemings relied upon it was shown by an occurrence in the river Thames, such as was never heard of before or since. A French crayer of thirty tons lay at Margate, watching to make

* Hall, 644—646. Holinshed, 735. † Hall, 747. State Papers, 284.

prize of some Fleming that might come down the river. A crayer from Arnemuiden, which was appointed to protect the fishing-boats between Gravelines and Ostend, had come up to Gravesend to take in bread; and, having victualled, made to the seaward. Espying the French vessel, which hove toward them under a sail, the Zeelanders suspected mischief, and made themselves ready. There was little difference in the size of the vessels, the Zeelander being twenty-eight tons, but a considerable disparity in the crew; the French were thirty-eight in number, and the Zeelander only twenty-four. When they came near enough to hail the French, the Frenchmen, by way of reply, "shot a piece of ordnance, and with that laid the Fleming aboard: and there was sore fighting, for the Frenchmen had cross-bows, and the Flemings had hand-guns." The French, however, when they had sufficiently tried the enemy's mettle, fell off, and would fain have been gone. "That seeing," says the chronicler, "the Fleming whistled, and after the Frenchman made sail. Now, the wind was so strainable east that the Frenchman could sail no whither but into the Thames, and so he did, and the Fleming followed, and before Gravesend the Fleming boarded the Frenchman, and there they fought again; but away again went the Frenchman, and the Fleming after with all his sails; and so far sailed the Frenchman, that he ran along the Tower-wharf as though he would have riven his ship; the Fleming set on, and entered the ship for any thing the Frenchman could do, and cried, 'I have taken the thief!' Sir Edmund Walsingham, lieutenant of the Tower, was on the wharf, and seeing them fight, called his men, and entered the ships, and took both the captains and their men. The Fleming boldly challenged his prize, for he said that open war was between France and Flanders, and said, further, that the Frenchman was a pirate. The king's counsel took up the matter, and made an end between them." *

* Hall, 748. "This chance was much talked of, that two ships should sail in chase from Margate to the Tower-wharf, because that, before time, such a like thing had never been heard."

Another royal meeting was appointed, to confirm the new league between the kings of England and France; and though it was less magnificent than that of the Cloth of Gold, there was, on both sides, a proud display and a profuse expenditure: 2400 beds, and stabling for 2000 horses were provided in Calais, besides what the adjacent villages could contain. The two kings met between that place and Boulogne, and went on, hawking as they went, to the latter town, where both made their offering at the shrine of our Lady of Boulogne, to whom Louis XI. had done homage, and of whom, in like homage, his successors professed to hold the Boulonnois, paying upon every succession a heart of fine gold, weighing 2000 crowns.* Sumptuous apartments had been fitted up for the king of England: his retinue was lodged, every man according to his degree, the best but straitly for lack of room; but they were most hospitably entertained: "the poultries, larders, spiceries, and cellars of wine were all open; and likewise hay and litter, and all other things; ask and have, and no man durst take any money, for the French king paid for all. He caused also two gowns to be made of white velvet, pricked with gold and damask; and the capes and vests were of frets of whipped gold of damask, very rich:" these he sent to Henry, requesting him to choose one, and wear it for his sake: "so that day the two kings were both in one suit." When the visit was returned, and the kings were saluted as they entered Calais, "what out of the town and the castle, and what out of Risebank, and the ships in the haven, the Frenchmen said they never heard such a shot. And when they were entered the mill gate, all the soldiers of the town stood on the one side, apparelled in red and blue; and on the other side of the streets stood all the serving-men of England, in coats of French tawny, with their lords' and masters' devices embroidered, and every man a scarlet cap and a white feather, which made a goodly show. There were lodged in Calais that night, besides the town-dwellers, 8000 per-

* St. Julien, Mélanges Historialles, p. 670.

sons at the least." Whether the guests were as straitly lodged as at Boulogne or not, they must have been quite as closely packed. "If the French king," says Hall, "made good cheer to the king of England and his train, I assure you he and his train were requited."* The concluding scene was near Sandyngfeld; the two kings "alighted on a fair green place, where was a table set, and there the Englishmen served the Frenchmen with wine, hippocras, fruit, and spice abundantly." When Henry and Francis "had communed a little, they mounted on their horses, and at the very entering of the French ground, they took hands, and with princely countenance, loving behaviour, and hearty words, each embraced the other, and so then departed."†

The peace lasted several years, which were rendered more eventful to England by the changes in religion, and the king's capricious cruelty, than any foreign war could have made them. At length Henry began to apprehend that the pope would succeed in forming a strong confederacy for the purpose of reducing this country to the obedience of the church of Rome. In his own person, therefore, he took "very laborious and painful journeys toward the sea-coast;" and caused all those places where a landing could be conveniently effected to be well surveyed and fortified; and ordered the earl of Southampton, then lord

A. D. 1540.

* "The king's officers of England had made preparation in every place, so that the Frenchmen were served with such multitude of divers fishes, this Friday and Saturday, that the masters of the French king's household much wondered at the provisions. So likewise on the Sunday they had all manner of flesh, fowl, spice, venison, both of fallow and red deer, and as for wine they lacked none, so that well was the Englishman that might well entertain the Frenchman. The lords of France never fetched their viands, but they were sent to them; and oftentimes their proportion of victual was so abundant, that they refused a great part thereof. ... The Sunday at night the French king supped with the king of England. The French king was served three courses, and his meat dressed after the French fashion; and the king of England had like courses after the English fashion; the first course of every king was forty dishes, the second sixty, the third seventy, which were costly and pleasant." — *Hall*, 793.

† Hall, 790—794. "While the king of England was in the French king's dominion, he had the upper hand, and likewise had the French king in his dominion; and as the French king paid all the Englishmen's charges at Boulogne, so did the king of England at Calais, so that every thing was recompensed; saving that the king of England gave to the French king divers precious jewels and great horses, and to his nobles great plenty of plate, for the which I could never hear that he gave the king of England any other thing but the white gown, as you have heard; but to the lords of the king's council he gave certain plate and chains."

admiral, "to prepare in readiness ships for the sea, to his great cost and charges." * At the same time the old statutes against exporting goods of any kind, and importing wine and woad in any but English bottoms, were confirmed, the preamble complaining that the navy and multitude of ships had been of late marvellously impaired; the people who had their living thereby were minished and impoverished; and the towns, villages, and inhabitations adjoining the coasts utterly fallen in ruin † and decay.‡ These acts had from time to time been relaxed, as the immediate interest of the merchants prevailed over the permanent good of the state. But the necessity of maintaining an efficient naval force was well understood, and nothing was deemed unimportant which affected its efficiency. The inhabitants of Bridport represented that the greater part of the cable ropes and other tackling for the navy, and for most other ships, had been made in their town, and the king and his subjects right well served; but that, of late, evil disposed persons, for their private lucre, had removed from the town into the adjoining country, and things had there by these persons been slightly and deceivably made, to the injury of the buyer, and enhancement of the price, and the ruin of that town, unless speedy remedy were provided. The relief for which the petitioners applied was granted: it was enacted that no hemp grown within four miles of that town should be sold any where but in that market, on pain of forfeiture; nor any cordage or other tackle made of hemp be manufactured within the same distance.§ An act was passed for amending and maintaining the ports of Plymouth, Dartmouth, Teignmouth, Falmouth, and Fowey; which, it was said, had been, in

* Hall, 828. † 32 Hen. 8. c. 14.

‡ The emperor's ambassador represented that this act "*for the provocation of strangers to ship in English bottoms*, tended greatly to the detriment of the Low Countries, and was, not without cause, very displeasantly taken there. The act, he said, had such a meaning in it, as it had been all one to have prohibited by express words that no stranger should lade in any other but English bottoms, and to make it in such sort as it is; for the alleviation, he said, of the custom causeth all men to have such regard to their own gain and lucre, that none but fools will ship in any other." — *State Papers*, 668—676.

§ 21 Hen. 8. c. 12.

times past, the principal and most commodious havens within this realm for ships resorting from all places of the world, as well in peril of storms as otherwise: for, hitherto, all vessels under the portage of 800 tons might enter them at low water, and there lie in surety what wind or tempest soever did blow; and in time of war these ports had been the greatest fortification and defence of that part of the realm, and the special preservation of the greater part of the navy. But of late the stream-works from the tin-mines had so choked these ports that vessels of 100 tons could scarcely enter at half flood. Regulations were made for the miners to prevent such evil in future, and enforced by penalties *, which were doubled † when it was found that they were not observed.

For some time, things continued in an uneasy state between England and France: "there was neither perfect peace nor open war, but ships were taken on both sides, and merchants robbed;" after a while the merchants' goods were mutually seized, and the ambassadors of both realms detained: "they were soon set at liberty, but yet the merchants were robbed, and no war proclaimed." ‡ Meantime Henry was negotiating a league offensive and defensive with the emperor. War was then declared. Vengeance was taken upon Scotland by one of those barbarous invasions, the object of which was to lay waste an enemy's country, and inflict upon it all the evil that could be done by sea and by land; and Henry, attending more to what was then deemed purely English interests, than to aid the general purposes of the confederacy, sent an army under the duke of Norfolk against Montreuil, and another under the duke of Suffolk against Boulogne. The lower town was abandoned by the inhabitants; the tower, called the "Old Man," which served as a beacon for those who were to enter the haven, was surrendered, and the upper town had been vigorously attacked and bravely defended for some days, when Henry came to take the command of the siege in

A. D. 1544.

* 23 Hen. 8. c. 8. † 27 Hen. 8. c. 23. ‡ Hall, 857.

person. Not many years had elapsed since he had visited Boulogne as the friend and guest and sworn confederate of the still reigning king of France, and made his offering at our Lady's altar: the steeple of our Lady's church was now battered down by his artillery, "and the town so beaten with shot out of the camp, and from the mount and trench by the mortar pieces, that very few houses were left whole therein." It was defended with great courage. A party of 200 men, guided by a priest who could speak English, attempted to enter the place; and the daring enterprise was so well conducted, that they passed by the scouts and then the watch; and though they were discovered before they had all passed over the trench, more than half succeeded in getting in. Small as this succour was, it encouraged the inhabitants; but contrary winds frustrated an attempt made to throw in supplies by sea, and the lord high admiral arrived to assist in the siege with his fleet from the coast of Scotland, which he had ravaged. The admiral was sir John Dudley, then viscount Lisle, afterwards more and worse known in history as duke of Northumberland. He was a brave seaman, and is said to have boarded the admiral off Sluys, in some action, of which nothing further has been recorded, "fighting her ship to ship." When part of the castle had been blown up, and such breaches made as were deemed practicable, he solicited and obtained permission to make the assault with his seamen*: it was resisted as gallantly as it was made; and, after considerable loss, Henry called off his men. But on the part of the besieged, Philippe Corse, by whom the

* The character of our seamen was then what it is now. They are thus described in Christopher Ockland's poem, which was ordered to be taught in all grammar and free schools; —

"Proximus invigilat muris Dudleius heros,
Nautarum, veniens pelago, comitante catervâ.
Nautæ, hominum genus impavidum, temerarius et audax,
Quos mare fluctivagum vehementi turbine motum,
Quando vadis tremulas syrtes everrit ab imis,
Nonnunquam gelidâ pavidos formidine reddit.
Non quicquid terrere potest per saxa, per ignes;
Per mare, per terras, non ulla pericula terrent.
Istis præfectus pelagi gaudebat alumnis,
Seque putat rursum tali duce nauta beatum."

Anglorum Prœlia.

defence was conducted, fell. Maréchal du Bièz, when he threw himself into Montreuil, had appointed his son-in-law Vervin to the command at Boulogne, a young man, who seems to have relied upon Philippe Corse for the performance of a duty to which he found himself unequal; and, having been deprived of that support, he thought further resistance hopeless. Accordingly, he proposed to capitulate, on condition of marching out with bag and baggage. It is said, that the burgesses protested against this surrender, and that the mayor, representing to him how the breach was well repaired, and the place abundantly provided with food and military stores, undertook to defend it with the citizens alone, if he and the garrison were afraid, and thought proper to retire. Vervin, nevertheless, signed the capitulation. Before hostages had been exchanged, a storm arose, which inundated part of the English camp, threw down their tents, and ruined great part of their works. The mayor then renewed his remonstrances, and urged the commander to profit by this unexpected advantage; but Vervin replied, that his word was given to the king of England, and he could not with honour break the engagement that had been made. The point of honour was not admitted in his excuse by the French court, and, by sentence of a court martial, he suffered death.*

It was Henry's intention that Boulogne should be annexed to the English pale: the town, therefore, according to the custom of that age, was cleared of its inhabitants, the old and sick excepted, who were not able to depart. The women and children were nearly 2000, the soldiers about 2400; the whole number of those who went out with heavy hearts, some 6000. Suffolk took possession; and on the morrow the king, "having the sword borne naked before him by marquis Dorset, like a noble and valiant conqueror, rode into Boulogne, and the trumpeters standing on the walls sounded their trumpets at the time of his entering, to the great comfort of all the king's true subjects the same beholding."

* Père Daniel, vii. 898. Hall, 861. Holinshed, 838—840.

After surveying the town, he ordered Our Lady's church to be pulled down, and a mount thrown up upon its site, for the better defence of the place; then, having appointed Dudley to be his deputy, he returned to England, with a precipitancy that gave the French some colour for imputing it to a sense of danger. Norfolk, indeed, had expressed an anxious wish that the king were safe in his own kingdom, or at least at Calais. He was received, however, by the English as a conqueror. The conquest which he had made was regarded with great exultation and joy by the nation, in whatever light it may have been considered by statesmen *: but the emperor, meantime, had pursued his own interests, without regard to those of his ally, and had made peace with France, which was thus enabled to direct its immediate efforts for the recovery of Boulogne, before the breaches were repaired or the trenches levelled. The siege of Montreuil was of necessity raised: near as that place is to the coast, the army before it had suffered greatly for want of "such behoveful refreshment as those were stored with that lay before Boulogne, having the seas open, and all things at pleasure brought unto them forth of England." They were, indeed, so weakened by death and sickness, that, if the dauphin had made better speed, their retreat was likely to have been most disastrous. But timely foresight had been used, and reinforcements sent to cover this necessary though humiliating movement, so that it was effected without loss. Norfolk, however, did not venture to make a stand at Boulogne: he added 500 men to the garrison, thereby increasing the number to 3300, besides the pioneers. The place was abundantly provided; he left 14,000*l.* in money; and, having retreated to Calais, he and the other members of the council associated with

* Dr. Nott has justly observed that Boulogne "was of importance not only as it would contribute to the defence of the English possessions around Guisnes and Calais; but as it would protect the English coast itself from insult. Our fleets at that period were not always able to cope with those of France alone; or to preserve the communication open between Dover and Calais. Henry, therefore, justly deemed it a point of no trivial import to obtain possession of Boulogne."—*Works of Surrey and Wyatt*, vol. i. p. lxv.

him, among whom were Suffolk, Russel, and bishop Gardener, wrote to the king, explaining the reasons upon which they had thus proceeded.

This despatch called forth an angry answer from Henry to his right trusty and right entirely well-beloved cousins; "for as there was none," he said, "more willing to take in good part the good doings and probable grounds of his counsellors for excuse, though sometimes they failed in executing his command, yet there was none that more hardly could bear bolstering and unapparent reasons, especially when they inculcated a feigned necessity, to cloak and maintain their faults. He could not but marvel that men of such experience would think a town so sore ruinate, as all men's eyes might perceive, might be in five or six days so repaired, that it was able to resist a main power of France! What, after this fond and sudden departure, was there to hinder the enemy from taking all the stores left in Basse Boulogne, being the great mass, and all his ordnance also? And to their assertion, that, if they had remained there they should have consumed provision faster than it could be sent to them, "we here," said the king, "knowing best the order in which affairs are put, and you there not being yet advertised of it, do think it as possible for us to have victualled you, as you think the same impossible, and that, if you had bidden it, you should have well seen the proof, which at length trieth all." Another reason alleged by them was, that many of those who served before Montreuil had burnt their tents for want of carriages; for which cause, and for want of huts and straw, they could not lie in camp without great destruction of people,... "we think, verily," said the king, "that men of courage, and willing to serve in such a case of necessity, would not have had so great respect to their own persons, as to the service of the king their master. For how can the Frenchmen keep their camp, their victuals and forage being so far devastated round about, and the way so ill to carry, and their provisions scantily yet well ordered for them, the

time of year also well considered, when you excuse yourselves that you cannot lie so nigh a good town, and such a village as Basse Boulogne is being in your aid, with the haven for your victual, so commodious to come to you? He bade them, therefore, seek no more indirect excuses to cloak their ill favoured retreat, but rather study to see his honour redubbed, which therein had been somewhat touched."*

Some part of the reproach which Henry thus unsparingly addressed to those whom he had left behind him in France he might have taken to himself. After his ostentatious entrance into Boulogne, he ought not to have hurried to England while that place was in such a state† that it seemed as if he were leaving it to be re-entered by the enemy. On the dauphin's arrival at Marquise, he was informed by a spy from the town, that all the stores were in the *Basse Ville*, that none of the breaches had been repaired, that the place was as open as a village, that he had only to enter it, and the upper town being wholly unprovided, would in a few days be at his mercy. Montluc (the liveliest old soldier that ever wrote the history of his own campaigns), who had just received his commission as maître-de-camp, was one of the persons who went to ascertain how far the report of this espial might be trusted. He found the camp and the artillery just as Henry had left them, and every thing in such a state, that the French general determined upon a camisado the following night. Norfolk, and the other members of the council had given their opinion that the town, fortified as it then was, might resist the power of France for that winter; though they acknowledged that no works which they could during that time construct could prevent the enemy, if he came in strength, from burning the base town, and the ships in the harbour, nor from erecting a bastion which should com-

* Nott's Surrey and Wyatt, i. App. pp. xlviii—lv.

† "The same town," Holinshed says, "being then weak, God knoweth, on all sides, through battery and minings, which, by the king's power, had been made to bring it into his subjection, and the trenches not cast down, nor the ordnance mounted." P. 844.

mand the entrance. They seem not to have considered, that if the stores were taken the upper town must fall. The volunteers for this enterprise set off in the night, wearing their shirts over their armour. They entered at three breaches bravely; but M. de Tais, by whom the information upon which the attempt was concerted had been obtained and verified, was wounded at this time, and compelled to withdraw. Montluc made his way into the town, through a fourth, without resistance, and amused himself, as he says, by attacking three or four houses which were full of Englishmen, whom he judged to be pioneers, because they were mostly without arms, but of whom, nevertheless, more than 200 were killed. The adventurers thought themselves in safe possession of the place: they found there all the store of provisions, with wine in abundance; and they began to pillage, and to revel upon the good cheer of which they made prize. The lord deputy Dudley had left sir Thomas Poynings in command, an able and experienced officer, whose measures upon the first alarm were taken as promptly as judiciously. He occupied most of the breaches through which the enemy had entered, and attacked them in the town, when thus cut off from succour and from retreat. More than 800 were lost, besides prisoners. Montluc behaved, as he always did, with consummate courage, and that presence of mind, without which courage itself is unavailing.* It was chiefly to his exertions that those who escaped were indebted for their preservation. He made his way back to the

* He says, "J'appelle Dieu en tesmoing, qu'il me punisse, si de tout ce jour là je perdis jamais l'entendement. Et me servit bien que Dieu me le conservast; car si je l'eusse perdu nous eussions receu une grande escorne, laquelle n'eussions sceu couvrir, et j'eusse esté en grand danger de n'estre jamais mareschal de France. Nous eussions perdu toutes nos enseignes, et ceux qui les portoient, avec lesquels toutesfois Dieu me fist la grace de sauver. Deslors qu'on est saisi de la peur, et qu'on perd le jugement, on ne sçait ce qu'on fait; c'est la requeste principale que vous devez faire à Dieu de vous garder l'entendement; car quelque danger qu'il y ait, encore y a-t-il moyen d'en sortir, et peut-estre à vostre honneur. Mais lorsque la crainte de la mort vous oste le jugement, adieu vous dis: vous pensez fuir à poupe que vous allez à proue. Pour un ennemi, il vous semble que vous en voyez dix devant vos yeux, comme font les yvrongnes qui voyent mille chandelles au coup. O le grand'heur que c'est à un homme de nostre mestier, quand le danger ne lui oste le sens; il peut prendre son parte, et éviter la mort et la honte." — *Coll. des Mémoires*, tom. xxii. p. 318.

army, bearing with him three arrows in his buckler, and one in the sleeve of his mail, as his share of the booty.*

The dauphin and his brother, the duc d'Orleans, had both so little consideration, or so little feeling, that they jested at this disaster, and laughed at Montluc, as if he and the old soldiers of Piedmont had lost their character. But when Montluc seriously asked the dauphin if he was of opinion that he had behaved ill, for if he were, he would instantly return to the town and find his death there; adding, that men were fools, indeed, to expend their lives in his service, the prince perceived his error, and made amends for it. The failure of the camisado, and the severe loss which had attended it, had abated the hope and the confidence with which he had taken the field. Heavy rains at this time set in; and the difficulties which Henry had foreseen, of obtaining provisions in a devastated country, and where the roads were so bad, were soon severely felt: the army was three days without bread, and the soldier was known to give his armour for a loaf. The dauphin†, therefore, retreated to Montreuil, dismissed there his Swiss and Gascon mercenaries, left mareschal du Biez with the troops which had been drawn from Piedmont to act against the English at Boulogne, and leaving the army himself, went to join the king, his father. Soon after Christmas, M. du Biez, with all the force that had been left in Picardy (about 14,000), came down to the coast, and encamped at Portet, a little fishing port, about a mile to the west of Boulogne. Before he could fortify his camp, the earl of Hertford (afterwards the protector Somerset), the lord admiral, who had then returned to his charge as lord deputy of that town, lord Grey of Wilton, and Poynings, sallied about four one morning, with all the strength they could collect, consisting of 4000

* Montluc, 304—320. Nott's Surrey and Wyatt, i. lxii. lxiii. Holinshed, 844.

† Norfolk says, in one of his despatches at this time, "The dauphin being disappointed to have environed our whole army at Boulogne, and to have hobbled us with horsemen (on the farther retreat to Calais), hath now hopped and leaped hither and thither, and lost well-favouredly in both places, and so is likely to return without damages." — *Nott's Surrey and Wyatt*, i. lxxiii.

foot and 700 horse.* Coming to the place where the king had encamped during the siege, they placed themselves there in order of battle; and at low water, captain Edward Braye, with 300 shot, passed over to give the enemy an alarm in their camp. At the same time the trumpets sounded, and the drums struck up. The army then showed themselves, in three battles, each with 200 horse; and the French, not thinking it prudent to await this unexpected attack, drew off in two bodies, with all haste, towards Hardelot. The English captains, in equal haste, followed with their horse only. During the night their workmen, protected by a company of harquebussiers, had repaired a bridge called Pont de Bricque, over one of the streams which unite to form the harbour of Boulogne: this they crossed, advanced to St. Estienne, surprised 500 Germans, "called Swart rutters," who were stationed there, and took most of them prisoners; but these poor prisoners, being left with the followers of the army, were afterwards slain, "because they knew not where to bestow them!"

Having thus gained the hill of St. Estienne, the lords appointed 100 of their men-at-arms "to follow and keep aloof, as a stale to relieve their fellows in time of need." Then arraying themselves again in order of battle, they rode up and down among the troops, and, "using many comfortable words," desired that, although they were but a handful, they would yet, for the honour of England, make proffer of an onset, and follow as they should see them lead the way. Then pushing forward, they came up with the enemy some "three miles on the hitherside of Hardelot sands," and, valiantly giving the charge, "thrust in between the two French battles, overthrew their carriages, took their ordnance and munition, and slew and bare down many of them that pressed forward to defend it." M. du Biez upon this brought up his best men, and began to array them with

* Some eighty or 100 of these were Albanians, a people who often appear among the mercenaries of that age.

a view to enclose the English between his forces and the sea. The lord admiral perceived his purpose: by his encouragement the English made a new charge, broke through the enemy, came to the hundred men-at-arms whom they had left as a reserve, and there halted for their infantry, by this time in sight, but at the distance of about two miles. The French also saw them; and M. du Biez, covering his retreat with the troops on whom he had most reliance, continued it till he came to Hardelot sands,—"a place of such strength and advantage, by reason of the strait, that being once there he might account himself out of all danger." Halting there, he sent a herald to the English chieftains, saying that there he meant to abide, and would give them battle if they chose to engage him; an offer which they thought it as unwise to accept as he did to meet them upon the fair field to which they invited him in reply. "Whereupon the English," says Holinshed, "to light them a candle that they might see where they were, set all the villages and houses about on fire, continuing there all that afternoon and most part of the following night. Early on the morrow they returned to Boulogne with all their spoil and prisoners." They took in this affair two brazen and five iron guns, and "the pieces of advantage" of six mareschals, which were sent to the king as proof of the "good success that had happened to his people in this famous enterprise."—"Apparel, plate, and furniture," in great plenty, were taken, both in the field and in the camp, where the French left their tents standing and all their provisions. This success was obtained with the loss of less than twenty men in killed and wounded.*

* Holinshed, 845. Du Bellay, 206. Dr. Nott (lxxv.) follows Du Bellay in giving the command that day to Surrey; adding, in a note, that Herbert, in his MS. collection, speaks of Surrey as the commander, but that in his published account he is silent respecting him. Herbert probably relied upon Du Bellay, when he made his notes, and saw good reason for rejecting his authority when he wrote his history. The credit which Holinshed ascribes to M. du Biez is assigned to another by Du Bellay:—"Sans l'ordre qui fût mis par le Capitaine Ville-Franche maître de camp des vielles bandes François, lequel demoure sur la queue, il y avoit grande apparence qu'il y fût advenu une roupte. Si est ce qu'il mourut de gens de bien, tant d'une part que d'autre."

The English government did not at this time trust to its own maritime strength, but now, for the first time, issued a proclamation, allowing and exhorting all its subjects, who should be so inclined, to arm ships at their own costs and charges, for the annoyance of its enemies, the French and Scots. This they were authorised to do without taking out any licence, or entering into any recognisance; and whatever they made prize of was to be wholly for their own benefit, without paying any part or share to the lord admiral, the lord warden of the Cinque Ports, or any other officer or minister of the king. Moreover, no officer might take from them any mariners, munition, or tackle, against their own consent, unless the king, for the furnishing of his own ships, should send for them by special commission, and when need might require. One proviso, more likely to be needful than efficacious, was made, that they should not presume to spoil his majesty's subjects, nor his friends, nor any one having his safe-conduct, on pain of the laws enacted for such offences.* Adventurers hastened to take advantage of this general licence; and being so numerous, they scoured the Channel with extraordinary good fortune. More than 300 French prizes were brought into the English ports; and so large a part of their cargoes was brought to London, that the Grey Friars' church was filled with wine, and both St. Austin's and Black Friars' with herrings and other fish intercepted on the way to France.†

At the commencement of his reign, Henry‡ had endeavoured to promote the interests of commerce. At a later period he sent out a squadron of six stout ships under Christopher Coo, to protect our trade from French and Scotch freebooters, who, taking advantage of a dispute between the emperor and the king of France, pirated at large, expecting that their depredations would be imputed to the ships of the two contending powers. But

* Charnock, ii. 110. † Holinshed, 846.

‡ Sir Thomas More, in his poem upon the accession of this king, says,—

"Mercator variis deterritus ante tributis
Nunc maris insuetas puppe resulcat aquas."

in his latter years, the licence which he had given to privateers produced evils as great as those which he had formerly repressed. When the first harvest was over, and French trade afforded little farther spoil, neither Spaniard, Portugueze, nor Fleming, escaped these adventurers, some of whom called themselves Scotch, and others, when they boarded a ship, wore visors.* The ill consequences which the lord admiral Dudley apprehended from these outrages came to pass: English ships were detained in the Spanish ports, as the surest way of obtaining restitution. In one case an officer † in the king's service was the offender; and when the matter was investigated, an unwillingness was found in some persons in authority, who had to refund their shares of the captures.

The French, on their part, made unusual exertions for increasing their naval force. Francis saw how greatly the English pale would be strengthened by the addition of Boulogne, if Henry were allowed to retain it ‡; and that the opportunity for speedily recovering it had been lost. Great efforts were now necessary, and these he determined upon making, both by sea and by land. The first business was to collect such a naval force as might boldly seek the English fleet and give it battle; and naval superiority being once attained, it would be possible to seize upon the Isle of Wight, establish a French force there, and then get possession of Portsmouth. Ten galleys were built at Rouen, twenty-five ordered from Marseilles, and some large

* State Papers, 841.

† "His majesty will be pleased that such things as Reneger took be restored; for that the same cannot be well defended, and then Reneger, to have justice against them who unjustly stayed his prize in Spain. This private case of Reneger hath made all this bruslery; wherein, if some other men had been as ready to have rendered for their parts such portions as they have received of Reneger's prey, as his majesty hath been to deliver his (which his majesty commanded long ago to be done), all these matters had been long ago past and 'depeched.'"—*State Papers*, 889.

John Reneger appears in the list of Dudley's fleet (ibid 512.) as captain of the Galigoe Reneger, of 80 tons and 80 men—probably, by its name, a Spanish vessel

‡ "Laissant longuement les Anglois dedans Boulogne, ils pourroient de jour en autre se renforcer, et prendre pied en son royaume, ce qui seroit une mauvaise semence."—*Du Bellay*, 208.

Genoese carracks* hired for this service. Meantime a "great and mighty" army was raised, with the intention of encamping before Boulogne, while the fleet was executing its part of the campaign, and there erecting a fort, in which 4000 or 5000 men might be left, to curb the garrison and command the entrance of the harbour. This work was to be ready by the middle of August, at which time it was calculated the fleet would have performed its object and have returned. His plan then was to march in person against Guisnes, take it, fortify it, hold Calais and the Terre d'Oye in subjection from thence, and thus cutting Boulogne off from all supplies either by sea or land reduce that place by famine.† The command by sea was intrusted to admiral d'Annebault, by land to mareschal de Biez.

As Francis was on his way from Romorentin to Havre de Grace, that he might in person superintend the embarkation of the troops who were to plant the French flag in the Isle of Wight and at Portsmouth, a fleet hove in sight, which he supposed to be the English, about to make a descent on Normandy. They proved, however, to be his own ships from the Mediterranean; but in a few days the English appeared. The lord admiral Dudley, hearing that the French king's ships-royal were riding in the fosse between Havre and Harfleur, thought it not impossible to make a present of some of them to his own king, or else to burn them where they were. He had embargoed some hulks in the Downs; and his plan was to hire eight of these for the king's service, like other stranger ships, but to man them with some of his own sailors, "which be the men," said he, "that must do the feat." Thus manned, he intended that some of his small vessels should chase them into the mouth of the Seine, and then turn about and give over the pursuit, when he would bring the whole

* Seymour's intelligence was, that the galleys were to bring with them from the Mediterranean "all manner of great ships that they could meet withal, as Venetians, Arragonese, Italians, or whatsoever they might be, either by fair means or foul."—*State Papers*, 776.

† Du Bellay, 208—211.

fleet in sight before the mouth of that river, the better to deceive the enemy. While the French were engaged in watching his movements, these hulks were simultaneously, by two and two, to lay on board the great carrack, and two or three other of the greatest ships which lay next her, and, if the wind and tide did not serve for bringing them out, they were to set them on fire, and escape in their boats. The great boats and small rowers of the fleet were to be in readiness, well appointed, to succour them within the river, so that even though the galleys should be there, he trusted few or no lives would be lost: the chief adventure, he said, was in the hulks, which were better to be adventured than any of the king's own ships. The fleet with which Dudley sailed upon this enterprise consisted of 160 sail; and it appears not to have been feasible when he reached the spot. The French force there was estimated at 200, besides the galleys: he thought it imprudent to set upon them where they lay, both by reason of his inferiority in number, and because none of his vessels would have been serviceable in shoal water. As he approached near enough to fire at them, this brought the galleys out to exchange shot, and at first to their great advantage, it being perfectly calm. "Twice either party assaulted each other with shot of their great artillery; but suddenly the wind rose so high that the galleys could not endure the rage of the seas," and the English, for fear of the shoals, stood out to sea. They seem also to have thought the enemy so formidable as to determine upon returning immediately to defend their own shores.*

Henry had, at this time, repaired to Portsmouth, "to see his realm defended." A new fortress had been erected there, which excited the admiration of all be-

* State Papers, 787. Holinshed, 847. Du Bellay, 219. The French author says, that thirty-five English ships appeared before the chef de Caux, and that "tirèrent à coup perdu en terre;" but when the galleys made towards them, they retreated to Portsmouth. The difference between this brief statement and Holinshed's account shows that Dudley approached the coast with the intention of acting upon his preconcerted plan.

holders *; but the force appointed to garrison it consisted only of a captain, twelve gunners, eight soldiers, and a porter. The town, however, was now adequately supplied: the Isle of Wight, also, was prepared to give the enemy an English welcome; and preparations were not neglected upon the coasts of Kent and Essex, and along the east coast, though the points which the French intended to attack were known by sure intelligence. The enemy met with some disasters at their outset: the Genoese carracks arrived too late; and most of them, by the fault of the pilots, it is said, were lost in the mouth of the Seine. The admiral's ship, le Philippe, was accounted not only the most beautiful ship but the best sailer then upon the seas. The admiral, Philippe Chabot, had it built at Havre, as a present for the king. It was of 1200 tons burden, and carried 100 large brass guns. Just before the expedition sailed, the king meant to give an entertainment on board to the ladies of the court; and in preparing for this, owing to the carelessness of the cooks, the ship took fire. It was impossible to stop the progress of the flames; and when the guns began to go off, the galleys no longer dared approach to pick up the poor wretches who leaped into the water. The money for the payment of the fleet was on board, and this was saved. Montluc was in the expedition; and when he saw this fine ship thus miserably destroyed at setting forth, he had little hope that any good fortune could attend it.†

The French fleet consisted of 150 great ships, sixty smaller ones ‡, and twenty-five galleys. They sailed on

* Sir Antony Knyvet, in a letter to the king, says it "may be called a castle, both for the compass, strength, and beauty; and the device and fashion thereof is strange, and marvellously praised of all men that have seen it, with the commodious and profitable situation thereof, as well for the defence of this your majesty's town and haven, as of the country thereabouts. The like is not within the realm. I dare say your majesty had never so great a piece of work done, and so substantial, in so little time, as all skilful men that have seen it do report."—*State Papers*, 771

† Du Bellay, 213 Bicaury Hist. du Havre de Grace (quoted in the Coll. Gén. des. Mém. t. xxii. p 445. Montluc, 322.

‡ Flovins they are called by Du Bellay; "espèce de petits vaisseaux," says the editor, "rassemblants à ce que nous appellons flûtes." The editor complains that the abbé Lambert, in his edition of Du Bellay, has curtailed the narrative of this expedition. "Les retranchemens," he

the 16th of July, and arriving off Brighthelmston on the 18th, landed troops there to burn and spoil the country; but the beacons were fired, and the people collected in such strength, and exerted themselves with such good speed, that the invaders re-embarked with some loss.* They then proceeded to the Isle of Wight, with the intention of provoking the English fleet to come out from Portsmouth, and giving it battle. They cast anchor at St. Helens, and sent sixteen of their galleys to insult the English in the harbour; baron de la Garde commanded this part of the fleet; a person infamous in history for the atrocities which he had recently perpetrated against the Vaudois at Cabrières and Merindol. The English were neither unprepared for this defiance nor unwilling to accept it: they set forth to meet the bold invaders, "and still the one shot hotly at the other; but the wind was so calm that the king's ships could bear no sail, which greatly grieved the minds of the Englishmen, and made the enemy more bold to approach with their galleys, and to assail the ships with their shot, even in the haven." On the admiral's return to St. Helens, after this day's ineffectual action, he was informed that La Maîtresse, which was the best ship in his fleet, and the one in which he meant to have fought himself, had sprung so dangerous a leak, in consequence of some injury which she had received in leaving Havre, that it was necessary to take every thing out of her, and send her back to be repaired. A more fatal mishap occurred on the morrow in the English fleet, when they came out meaning to give battle; for "in setting forward, the goodly ship called the Mary Rose was, through too much folly, drowned in the midst of the haven; by reason that she was overladen with ordnance, and the ports, which were very low†, had been left open, and

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observes, "nous semblent d'autant plus déplacés que la relation de cette campagne de mer est la première dont il soit question dans l'Histoire de la Marine Françoise. Quoique cette marine fût dans son enfance, les efforts qu'elle tenta contre l'Angleterre méritent l'attention du lecteur." p. 214.

* Holinshed, 848.

† "The under sill of the lower tier was not more than sixteen inches from the water's edge."

the great artillery unbreeched, so that when the ship should turn, the water entered, and suddenly she sunk." Her captain, sir George Carew, was on board, with 400 soldiers, and not more than forty persons were saved.*

M. d'Annebault thought at this time, by means of his galleys, to draw the English out, and he arranged his fleet to receive them, taking the van himself with thirty ships, and having thirty-six in each flank. The loss of the Mary Rose was not the only unfortunate circumstance with which the action commenced: the wind fell, and the galleys, which were ably commanded, had for about an hour greatly the advantage; but then the wind rose, and they escaped destruction only by the skill of the sailors, and the great exertions of the rowers. The English row-barges† distressed them in their retreat; for the galleys, having no guns at the poop, were unable to defend themselves, and did not dare turn upon their pursuers lest the ships should be upon them. A

* Grafton. Hall, 863 Holinshed, 948. Charnock, ii. 52. Du Bellay (218.) says, this ship was sunk by the enemy's fire, "à coupe de canon fût mis au fonds" This is proved to be false by the State Papers recently published, in which Russell, writing to Paget, says, "I am very sorry of the unhappy and the unfortunate chance of the Mary Rose, which through such *rechenes* and great negligence should be in such wise cast away, with those that were within her." P. 794 These papers contain (796.) "a remembrance of things necessary for the recovery, with the help of God, of the Mary Rose." In the list are thirty Venetian mariners and one Venetian carpenter, "and sixty English mariners to attend upon them." It seems, therefore, that it was upon the skill of the Venetians that they depended for raising her. "We have much-a-do to frame every thing for the Mary Rose; but all that may possibly be done is done for the same. The worst is, we must forbear three of the greatest hulks of the fleet till something be done, which must be emptied of all their victuals, ordnance, and ballast during the business, which will be a great weakening to the navy, if any thing in the mean time shall happen." (Lisle to Paget, Aug 2.) "As touching the Mary Rose, her sails and sail-yards be laid on land; and to her masts there are tied three cables, with other engines, to weigh her up; and on every side of her a hulk to set her upright, which is thought by the doers thereof, God willing, to be done to-morrow, some time in the day. And that done, they purpose to discharge her of water, ordnance, and all other things, with as much diligence as is possible, and, by little and little, to bring her nearer to the shore; and as we shall from time to time work with her to save her, his majesty shall be advertised accordingly." (Suffolk to Paget, Aug 5.) "The Mary Rose (which I trust, with the leave of God, shall be brought up right once to-morrow,) hath so charged all the king's majesty's shipwrights with making engines for the same, that they have had no leisure to attend any other thing, sithence his majesty's departure hence." (Lisle to Paget, Aug 5.)

† *Ramberges* Du Bellay calls them.

general action, however, was not brought on*; and, on the following day, the French admiral thought it better to try his fortune by land. There could be no likelier way, he reasoned, to make the king of England send his fleet out, than to lay waste the country with fire and sword under his eyes; and if no such effort were made for the relief of his subjects, then the admiral hoped that discontent might move the people to insurrection. Accordingly, a descent was made upon the Isle of Wight in three places. Pietro Strozzi landed in one part, near a little fort which had annoyed the galleys: it was abandoned on the approach of his force, and his people killed some few of the retreating garrison, and burnt the houses round about. Another division was commanded by the sieur de Tais, who was general of the foot soldiers, and by the baron de la Garde: they landed without resistance; but had not penetrated far into the country before the inhabitants made head against them, taking possession of ground where they could attack the enemy to advantage, and when they retired were safe from pursuit, unless the enemy followed in disorder, and exposed themselves to farther loss. This detachment, therefore, obtained no success: the captains Marsay and Pierrebon, who commanded the third, were both wounded; and their party found it advisable to retreat with all speed to their ships. Meantime the troops who had been left on board, seeing the flames that Strozzi had kindled, and that there were no enemies on the adjacent shore, landed without leave to take their pleasure, and come in for a share of the pillage: they got among the hills, were attacked there by horse and foot, and driven back to the coast: there, under protection of the ships, they rallied, and being reinforced, again advanced against

* Du Bellay says, "that the prior of Capua (one of the Strozzi) turned upon the row-barge that pursued him, and that, upon this movement of his, not only three vessels but the whole English fleet retired, when M. d'Annebault was on the point of giving the signal for battle." But in the State Papers, Russell says, "The king hath determined that my lord admiral shall give them battle if they abide." He adds, "that seventeen of their galleys came in the order of battle to the fight, of the which one was sunk, and the ships began to retire, which I believe will not come again." (P. 794.) The event justified his expectation.

the islanders, who in their turn retreated, till, having crossed a river, they broke down the bridge, and defied farther pursuit. The admiral then recalled his people, and held counsel how to proceed.*

But it was not an ordinary council of war that was held on this occasion: the admiral summoned all the pilots, captains, and sailors to a public meeting, that the nature of the coast might be better investigated, and the best means devised for overcoming the difficulties which it presented to their intended enterprise. He represented to them their great superiority in the number of ships, and also in the courage of their people, and what a benefit such a victory as they were sure of obtaining, if they could only get at the enemy, would be to the king and to the realm of France. Officers and men declared themselves all ready for the attempt; but the sea captains and the pilots affirmed that it could not be made without evident ruin: the channel by which they must enter, they said, would not admit of more than four ships abreast, and might, therefore, easily be defended by the enemy, who could oppose to them an equal number. It could only be entered by favour of the wind and tide; but if any thing impeded the foremost ships, those which followed would be driven against them by the force of the current. Moreover, the battle must be fought near the shore, consequently they would be exposed to a fire from thence; and if they could succeed in laying the English ships aboard, and grappling them, the force of the tide would carry them ashore together. Here it was proposed by some one, that, to avoid this danger, they should anchor as soon as they had closed with the enemy: to this the pilots replied, that their cables might be cut; and that even if they were not cut, the danger would be quite as great; for the nature of the tide was such that it always made the prow of the vessels turn towards it, and thus their ships would expose the poop to the enemy, instead of presenting to them the prow or the broadside. They

* Du Bellay, 218—224.

added, also, that were they to cast anchor, "the ship could not immediately be brought to, and if it strained it would either slip the anchor or break the cable: therefore it would be necessary to give out the cable little by little, and so arrest the ship's way; but while this was doing, they might touch the ground, and be lost.*

To these representations no reply was attempted. The admiral and the captains, however, would not yield to them without farther investigation, fearing, it is said, that the pilots, who were unanimous in their opinion, had for cowardly motives magnified the difficulties and dangers of the attempt. Three pilots and three captains, therefore, were sent to sound the channel in the night, and measure its breadth, and ascertain what facilities for defence the English would derive from the nature of the port. These persons, on their return, confirmed all that had been stated at the public council; and they added, that the entrance of the channel was so winding, that a strange ship could hardly enter without a pilot, even though coming in peace, and with no apprehension of being opposed. All thought, then, of attacking the English fleet at Portsmouth was abandoned. It was then debated whether they should make for the coast of Picardy, to co-operate with the army there, and prevent the enemy from throwing succours into Boulogne; or if they should establish themselves in the Isle of Wight, and fortify themselves there, which would be to the great damage of the realm of England. The chiefs who supported this latter proposal argued, that having once got possession of the Isle of Wight, they might easily make themselves masters of Portsmouth, which was one of the finest harbours in England; by this means they should put the English to an incredible expense, seeing that it would be necessary for them continually to keep up a force both by sea and land to make head against an enemy who was thus established. The passage to Spain and Flanders would then be secure;" and in time the island itself might be cultivated so as to

* Du Bellay, 224—226.

feed the garrison which the king might think proper to maintain there.*

These, the French historian observes, were great utilities and worthy of profound consideration; but, on the other hand, the difficulties that occurred were not less considerable. The sieurs de Tais and de Saint Remy, and others who were versed in such matters, agreed in opinion that it would be necessary to erect three fortresses at the same time, on the spot which had been deemed best suited to that purpose: the ground was semi-circular in its form, and at the two points of the semi-circle two forts were required to defend the road and protect their own fleet; a third was necessary for lodging the troops. The cost of these works would be excessive: it would not be possible to complete them in less than three months, even if 6000 pioneers were employed; and the place being as it were in the heart of the enemy, less than 6000 soldiers ought not to be left there, but it was impossible to leave so many now, and retain enough for manning the ships. Nor were these the only objections. The fleet could not depart till the works should be in a defensible state; but it was impossible for them to remain there so long, because they had no port to secure them from the winds, neither were they victualled for such a time: the rainy and stormy season was coming on, when the ships would be in danger, and the soldiers on shore would be exposed to the effects of the weather, having no habitations to shelter them, nor tents, nor covering of any kind. These arguments had such weight that even those who were for taking possession of the isle submitted to them, and agreed that the intention must be deferred till the king's farther pleasure could be known. "For my part," says Martin du Bellay, "without offence to the sieurs de Tais and de Saint Remy, it appears to me that, considering the desire the king had to secure himself against his enemy the king of England, and the means which he then possessed an opportunity for so

* Du Bellay, 226—228.

doing was at that time presented, which will neither easily nor soon be found again. But God orders all things as he pleases."*

This determination having been taken, a watering party was sent on shore, and the chevalier d'Aux, who commanded the Norman galleys, landed to protect them, distrusting the vigilance of the officer who had charge of the party. But he was incautious enough himself to fall into an ambush, where he was slain. On the morrow the fleet departed, coasting it towards Dover: they outstripped the galleys, having a fair wind, and, therefore, lay to for them on a part of the coast which appeared so inviting that many of the men landed without orders, and without precaution of any kind. When a good part of them had passed over some deep water by a wooden bridge, the English issued suddenly from a little fort in which they had concealed themselves, broke down the bridge†, and attacked the invaders, who took to the water in their flight, to sink or swim as might betide them. The admiral now crossed the straits, and landed 4000 men and 3000 pioneers at Portet, near Boulogne; retaining still a sufficient number‡ for the service of the fleet. The weather soon made them stand off, and make again towards the English coast. Meantime, the first care of the English had been to put Portsmouth in a defensible state§, and to lay a chain

* Du Bellay, 228—230.

† Du Bellay calls the place Valseau, and says it is fourteen leagues from the Isle of Wight.

‡ "Par la," says Du Bellay, "vous pouvez cognoistre qu'il pouvoit laisser en l'Isle d'Huicht lesdits 4000 hommes et 4000 pionniers, qui estoit suffisamment pour garder ladite isle, attendant nouveau refraischissement, et leur pouvoit laisser vivres (à ce que j'entendis des munitionnaires) pour un mois ou cinq sepmaines." p. 233.

§ "Having received your letter, whereby I perceive the king's majesty doth much marvel at the want of tools; for answer whereunto you shall understand that, as for *sholves* and spades, we have had some from London, but as for mattocks we have had none, which is the thing that we chiefly lack; these works cannot be done without them, the ground here is such. We have put to making to Winchestre, Southampton, and other places in these parts, many mattocks, so that I trust by Monday we shall have a good number of them; and then, God willing, there shall be as much diligence used as is possible, trusting, or it be long, that this town shall be put in that force and good order as it shall defend the enemies."—*Suffolk to Paget*, 1 Aug. p. 796.

"Finally, I trust before my lord admiral's departure from hence, the

across the haven. The fleet was at that time much weakened by sickness, which was imputed to the great heat, bad food, and close stowage on board, so that many seamen as well as soldiers were not in a condition for service. The west country ships, however, had not yet joined, and when they came, men were removed from the smaller and least serviceable, to fill up the complement in the large vessels. The chief object of the French admiral, at this time, was to prevent the English from victualling Boulogne, and from sending supplies to Portsmouth. And when Dudley, having been reinforced with fresh men, received orders to put forth against the enemy, "to set the king's passage and victual at liberty," he replied, "There shall be no time forstowed in the advancement of his majesty's pleasure in that behalf; and I most humbly thank his majesty that he hath been pleased to give me liberty to look towards them, for I never thought myself in prison till now, since the time of our lying here, doing no service."

Henry had signified his pleasure that some of his ships should be made to row, that they might keep company with the row barges, and act against the enemy's galleys: as much should be done in this way, Dudley said, as stuff and time would serve to perform; but, whereas the king's intention was that each of these rowing vessels should have two captains, the lord admiral observed that one would do his majesty better service, for two minds would not always agree, and their difference would furnish an excuse for any mishap or disobedience.* The vanguard of Dudley's fleet

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chain shall be ready to be laid over the haven, with lighters, and all things meet for that purpose put in a readiness to furnish the same, for the defence of the enemies accordingly."—*Suffolk to Paget*, 1 Aug p 797.

"Assure yourself, I, the duke of Suffolk, intend to put the town in such force and strength, as it shall be a busy piece of work for the enemies to win."—*Ibid.* 802.

* "For if there be two rulers, one will have his mind, the other will have his: if any thing frame amiss, the one will excuse him by the other; the residue under them will excuse them (selves) by two commanders: 'he bade me do that, and tother this.' If there be but one having charge, neither he that hath the charge committed only to him, neither those which be

consisted of twenty-four ships with 3800 men. The largest vessel in this division was the Aragozia of Hampton, admiral Sir Thomas Clerc. The sum of ships for "the battle" amounted to forty, with 6846 men. The lord admiral was in this division, on board the Henry Grace à Dieu, — the Great Harry of 1000 tons and 700 men. Admiral William Tyrrell commanded the wing, of forty galliasses, shalupes, and boats of war, manned by 2092 men: his flag was hoisted on board the Grand Mistress, of 450 tons, 250 men. Dudley's orders were, that when a convenient time for battle should be perceived, "our vanward shall make with their vanward, if they have any; and if they be in one company, our vanward, taking the advantage of the wind, shall set upon the foremost rank, bringing them out of order: and our vice-admiral shall seek to board their vice-admiral, and every captain shall choose his equal, as near as he may." The spirit of an English seaman breathes in that order. The admiral of the wing was to be always in the wind with his whole company; and when they formed with the enemy, he was still to keep that advantage, to the intent that he might the better beat off the galleys from the great ships. The watch-word for the fleet in the night was, "God save king Henry!" to which the answer was, "and long to reign over us!"*

M. d'Annebault, though greatly superior in numbers, seems not to have placed much reliance upon his ships, but rather to have dreaded an engagement in which he could not have the active assistance of his galleys. He was at anchor on the English coast, at a place which the French historian calls *les Perrais*, when he learnt by a Flemish vessel, which Dudley had embargoed, but which had made its escape during the night, that the English fleet was in search of him, and at no great dis-

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under one, hath any such excuse. Nevertheless, if his majesty's pleasure be to have it committed unto two, I shall accomplish it accordingly. Albeit that I could do no less than of my poor opinion to signify unto his majesty, referring all to his great wisdom, and beseeching his majesty of this my boldness to pardon me."—*Lisle to Paget*, 809.

* State Papers, 808—814.

tance. Had it found him in his present position, with the wind as it then was, the galleys would have been useless; and the only way of avoiding an action under that disadvantage, must have been by passing the straits and making toward Flanders, a thing, it is said, which could not be done without disorder and great danger; and with this additional evil, that their return would be cut off. The French admiral resolved, therefore, as soon as the tide favoured, and the wind either changed or fell, to put to sea, meet the enemy, gain the weather-gage, and give him battle. Meantime he ordered the galleys to take their station under a point of land which covered them from the wind, and there lie with their poop towards the shore, while the ships were drawn up in order of battle a little below them, as close as the weather would permit; thus, when the English fleet approached, it would, in attempting to close with the French, pass by the galleys, and leave them to windward: the galleys were safe, because even the smallest English ships drew too much water to approach; and the admiral thought it not impossible that the English might not only pass the galleys, but be carried by the tide beyond the body of his fleet. The wind continued so high throughout the day that it was not prudent for them to weigh anchor. On the morrow the wind changed and fell, becoming so favourable, that about noon they desired nothing more than to fall in with the English; and when, from some Flemings, the admiral learnt that they were not far off, the admiral went on board the ship in which he meant to engage the Great Harry, and sent the galleys forward to discover the enemy, the ships following, but, because of the calm, little faster than the tide carried them. The galleys came in sight at daybreak: both parties manœuvred, the English not seeking to engage till the opportunity should be more favourable, and the French being in no haste to use that which the weather afforded them.*

Aug. 15.

Dudley wrote to the king at this juncture;—it is the

* Du Bellay, 234—238.

oldest despatch of the kind from a British admiral. "At this present," said he, "it may like your majesty that the enemies and we have sight one of the other, striving who shall get the advantage of the wind: their galleys roweth fast for it, and our wing doth their best: they have yet the advantage of the same; nevertheless, they make no haste, such as they might do, an if they were disposed to fight. Wherefore I think we shall not fight this day. They have weather as they would wish, for it bloweth little wind, and yet if they were better disposed to the matter than they seem at this time to be, yet may we dally with them a day or two before we need to fight, except we see a better advantage with opportunity. I intend not to omit to see what God will send in the mean time. They seem to be many more ships in number than we be; but the victory resteth not always in the number of ships nor men, but only on the goodness of God, working with Him as much as men may to serve the turn; wherein, God willing, we shall do that may lie in us, according to our duties. And if it shall please Him to send us a commodious wind, I have good hopes your majesty shall hear such news of our proceedings with them, as shall be *extable* unto the same, to the laud and praise of Almighty God, who, grant it so: Amen. The place where we be at this present is thwart of Shoreham, *too kennys* * almost from the shore. The wind, ever since the first night of our coming out at midnight, hath been at east south east and at east, that we could not fetch by east of Bechiefe, and it hath been almost calm ever since. I pray God send us a fresher gale of wind, and then I trust there shall no advantage be forslowed that may be taken of them; as knoweth the living God, who ever preserve your most excellent majesty in long and prosperous felicity, with the continual desire of your most royal heart!"†

* Within sight?
† State Papers, 815. "In the Harry Grace à Dieu, the 15th of August at 10 of the clock before noon."

Dudley's intention was, "as much as in him might be, to eschew the fight that day; for a better day," he said, "than the same was for their galleys, they could not wish." About noon the galleys assailed him, and continued to do so the whole day. "The tide and the wind," he says, in a subsequent despatch, "were so favourable at that time unto them, that if they had been earnestly determined to have taken the advantage, it would hardly been avoided from a battle; wherein we did put our confidence in the goodness of God, and shewed ourselves to be nothing affrayed of them, but kept together, close by a wind, putting our ships that would not row, and such as had no pieces to annoy the galleys, furthest off; and our rowing pieces, and such other of your highness' great ships as were best ordinanced, next unto them. If we should straight have given them place, the gallies would have been too busy at our poops, whereby their fleet might have taken occasion of canvass, which I thought not meet to give them; assuring your majesty the Mistress, St. Anne Gallaunt, the Greyhound, with all your highness' shallups and rowing pieces, did their parts right well; but especially the Mistress and the Anne Gallaunt did so handle the galleys, as well with their sides as their prows, that your great ships in a manner had little to do. Their whole fleet did still keep the advantage of the wind, making no haste towards us, until the sun was almost set, by which time their galleys were well beaten and repulsed towards them; and being no time, then, for two such armies to begin a fight so near night, gave me occasion to think that they rather minded to make us affrayed than to do us any harm; and when they were come within a league of us, I caused our fleet to come to an anchor, to the intent they should perceive we were not affrayed of them. And thereupon their admiral shot off two warning pieces, as though they would do the like. But in the morning, when the day brake, their whole fleet was as far off from us as we could escry them out of my top gallant, haling into the seaward, the wind being somewhat fresh, so that if they had tarried, their

galleys could have done them little pleasure. And whereas the day before they came together like a whole wood, they kept now in their removing none order; for some of our small boats which could lie best by a wind, and which I did purposely send to see what course they held, and what order they kept, brought me word that they lay east with the sails, as though it should seem that they minded to fetch the narrow seas before us. There was four miles in length, as they thought, between their foremost and their hindermost ships."*

This was the first time, since the general use of cannon, that two great fleets had encountered in the British seas. On neither part was there any thing like victory to boast of; but the object of the French had been effectually defeated: they found it necessary to return to port immediately after this partial action, not for any damage that they had sustained in it, but because of the state of the ships and the sickness that prevailed on board; and they felt that there had been some loss of credit in an expedition which, having been undertaken at a great expense, had proved so bootless.† The ships were distributed in different ports, there being no hope

* State Papers, 816—819 The French account is, that the English, as soon as they perceived their enemy meant to give battle, made sail, "sans plus dissimuler," toward the Isle of Wight; that La Garde, with the galleys, attacked some of their heaviest sailers, and thus made the others slacken sail; but the wind freshened, and enabled them to effect their retreat without disorder: nevertheless, that there was an action of two hours with the galleys, and at such close quarters, that the French had hardly room to fire their guns; that more than three hundred shot were fired on both sides; but that the galleys, being lower than the English ships, were least exposed, and that, in the morning, many splinters and many dead bodies were seen in the sea; that night put an end to the action, wind and tide, mean-time, having carried the English toward their port; and that M. d'Annebault, finding, in the morning, that they were safe there, sailed forthwith for Havre, to land his sick, who were very numerous, and refresh his people. (Du Bellay, 239, 240.) This statement, false as it is, has the merit of being a modest one: of the truth of Dudley's there can be no doubt.

† Montluc says, "Le desir que le roi avoit de se venger du roi d'Angleterre le fit entrer dans une extrême despense, laquelle enfin servit de peu, quoique nous eussions prins terre, et depuis combattu les Anglois sur mer, où d'un costé et d'autre il y eut plusieurs vaisseaux mis à fonds. Deslors que je vis à nostre depart embrazer le grand Carracon, que estoit ce croisje, le plus beau vaisseau qu'il estoit possible, j'eus mauvaise opinion de nostre entreprinse. Et parce que pour mon particulier je ne fis rien qui fust digne d'estre escrit, et que le general est assez discouru par d'autres, je m'en tairai pour descrire la conquête de la terre d'Oye; aussi nostre fait est plus propre sur la terre que sur l'eaue, où je ne sçais pas que nostre nation ait jamais gagné de grandes batailles." — p. 322.

of their putting to sea again that year, both for want of stores and of men. "There be also in this army," said Dudley, in one of his despatches, "divers ships, which, after another storm, will be able to look no more abroad this year; and I think our enemies be in as evil a case, or worse. For among such a number of ships as they have, and as we have, all cannot be strong, and all cannot be well tackled." He would not, however, return till he had revenged "their bravadoes and presumptuous attempts made at Portsmouth and in the Isle of Wight:" — more accustomed to inflict than to endure the evils of war, in this light the English regarded their enemies' attempt at invasion. Six thousand men were landed about three miles west of Treport. Three ensigns of the French had taken a position to oppose the landing; they were beaten, but as they retreated received continual reinforcements; the English, however, a second time entered that unfortunate town, in spite of all resistance, set it on fire, burnt some of the adjacent villages, destroyed thirty ships in the harbour, reembarked with the loss of only fourteen men, and then returned to Portsmouth, concluding the campaign with this exploit.* If it had not been thus honourably terminated, the plague which now broke out in the fleet must speedily have rendered it inefficient.†

Sept. 2.

That fleet had not been equipped without great exertions. Most of the fishermen had been pressed into it; and this was not only an individual hardship, but a serious inconvenience to all persons near the coast, when the observance of fast-days was enjoined by the law and enforced by it. Fish was then one of the necessaries of life; and that the market might not be wholly unsupplied, the women of the fishing towns ventured out in the boats by themselves, or with the help of a boy, or of a man, if one could be found, to assist them. It was not remembered that women had ever before been driven to this occupation. ‡ The costs of the war

* State Papers, 829. Holinshed, 850. † Ibid. 832, 833. 841.
‡ State Papers, 826, 827.

had been very great. "The king's majesty," says the chancellor Wriothesley*, writing to the council, "hath this year and the last year spent 1,300,000*l.* or thereabouts; and his subsidy and benevolence ministering scant 300,000*l.* thereof; as I muse sometime where the rest, being so great a sum, hath been gotten, so the lands being consumed, the plate of the realm molten and coined, whereof much hath risen, I sorrow and lament the danger of the time to come, wherein is also to be remembered the money that is to be paid in Flanders; and, that is as much and more than all the rest, the great scarcity that we have of corn, being wheat, in all places in manner, Norfolk excepted, at twenty shillings the quarter, and a marvellous small quantity to be gotten of it. And tho the king's majesty should have a greater grant than the realm could bear at one time, it would do little to the continuance of these charges, which be so importable, that I see not almost how it is possible to bear the charges this winter till more may be gotten. Therefore, good my lords, tho you write to me still 'Pay, pay, prepare for this and for that,' consider it is your parts to remember the state of things with me, and by your wisdoms to ponder what may be done, and how things may be continued."

The defence of Boulogne was one of those pressing occasions for which money was wanted. Poynings died at this time. Lord Grey of Wilton was appointed to succeed him in that fortress, and Surrey to take the place of lord Grey at Guisnes. Surrey had gone over to command the vanguard of the army with which Suffolk was to march for the relief of Boulogne; and, to equip himself for the expedition, he mortgaged the furniture† of his house at St. Leonards, near Norwich. Suffolk,

* State Papers, 830.

† A minute account of the furniture is printed in the Appendix (No. 48.) to Dr. Nott's Life of Surrey. John Spencer, of Norwich, was the lender. The sum is stated to have been clvii : xxvii of lawful money of England; — what that may import I am at a loss to understand. It is said, in the document, that the goods are "of little better valuing than the said sum of money."

who, if the enemy had effected their threatened invasion, should have been the king's lieutenant-general to oppose them, died when he was about to cross the Channel, with the hope of meeting the French king in the field, — "a right hardy gentleman," says Holinshed; "and yet not so hardy as almost of all degrees and estates of men, high and low, rich and poor, heartily beloved, and his death of them greatly lamented." The French king waited only for the construction of the fort before Boulogne to execute his intended movement against the English pale, that M. du Biez might be at liberty to serve with his army wherever it might be needed; and expecting, upon his report, that it would be completed in a few days, the king advanced to the abbey of Forest Montier, between Abbeville and Montreuil. There he received advice from the mareschal that Boulogne was distressed for provisions; that the enemy were assembling a force at Calais, with the view of relieving it by land; and that he was about to leave some 4000 men in the fort, cross the river with the rest of his army, and encamp upon Mont Lambert, to give them battle, if they persisted in their intent. Accordingly, he repaired to Pont de Brique, and made this movement, at which Francis was so little pleased, that, he said, it seemed as if M. du Biez had no wish that Boulogne should be retaken; because in that event he would lose the command over so many princes and so great an army.*

That army consisted of 12,000 French infantry, 6000 Italians, and 4000 whom Du Bellay calls legionaries; about 1200 men-at-arms, and some 800 light horse. The youth of the court, in hopes of a battle, hastened to join it, some with the king's leave and some without it. Mont Lambert is within gunshot of Boulogne: shots were frequently exchanged between the camp and the town, and daily skirmishes took place. While the army occupied this position, the duc d'Orléans, who was the king's second son, died in the abbey

* Du Bellay, 240—245.

of Forest Montier: his disease was supposed to be the plague; and the king, in consequence, removed to l'Hospital, a village at the other end of the forest of Cressy. That name would have given him no pleasant forebodings, if a battle had indeed appeared inevitable. From thence he deputed persons on whom he could rely to inspect the fort; and upon their report that the winter must be far advanced before it could be in a defensible state, without an army to protect it, he saw that his plans for that year were frustrated, and retired to the abbey of St. Fuscian, two leagues above Amiens, that city being infected with the plague. There he received intelligence that Henry had hired 10,000 lansquenets and 4000 horse in Germany, to reinforce his army in the Terre d'Oye, and raise the siege. Upon this he repaired to Le Fere sur Oise, there to take measures for preventing this junction, and for the defence of his own frontier; and, before he departed, he ordered the mareschal to enter the Terre d'Oye and lay it waste, that, if the Germans should arrive there, they might find no subsistence.

La Terre d'Oye was that part of the English pale which lay to the east of Calais: it extended from that town to the Flemish town of Gravelines; a marshy tract, but rich in herbage, about four leagues in length, and three in breadth. It was well protected, not only by Calais itself, and Guisnes, and the castle of Hammes, but by a wide and deep ditch along the French border, with ramparts and blockhouses, at due distances to flank them. The enterprise began well, though the bridges which had been prepared for the passage of the artillery were, by some neglect, left at Ardres. Near Gravelines the attack was made: one of the blockhouses was stormed, and the garrison put to the sword. Montluc was in the assault: the men waded through the ditch, and, by filling it, a way was made for the artillery. The mareschal then entered; met and routed with great slaughter, but with the loss also of some 80 or 100 horse, several new companies of "Leicestershire men and others," lately sent over; set fire to some

villages, and foraged the country almost to the little town of Marc, in its centre. But, in the night, there came on a heavy rain; the trenches with which the land is intersected became formidable streams, not to be crossed without a bridge; and, lest it should soon be impossible to withdraw the guns, the mareschal thought it prudent to retreat.* Some credit the French gained by this successful inroad: they derived a more important advantage from the retreat of the lansquenets, who, having arrived at Fleurines, in the territory of Liege, were refused a passage by the emperor through his hereditary states: they waited there for three weeks, when their pay-day came; the English agents were not ready with the means of payment, which would have been provided on their arrival within the English pale; the men, therefore, mutinied, and marched back into Germany, carrying with them these agents as hostages for the money which they looked upon as their due.†

The fort at Outreau, though still unfinished, had been, by the great exertions and good management of Montluc, put in a state of defence before the army removed to Mont Lambert. During the expedition to the Terre d'Oye, the garrison of Boulogne were defeated in an attempt to surprise it; and, after the failure, each party seemed to place its chief hope upon the possibility of reducing the other by famine. Here the advantage was on the part of France, both by land and sea; they had a great superiority in horse‡; and they had constructed boats, purposely for the revictualment of this fortress, drawing but three feet water, though of such great stowage, that they were capable of carrying 140 men. Surrey, who commanded at

* Du Bellay, 253—256. Montluc, 323—338. Holinshed, 851. Montluc's is a most lively and characteristic narrative.

† Du Bellay, 258—260. "Par ce moyen le dit Anglois feit une despense excessive, qui revint en fumée; et espensa bien ses tresors, desja fort entasnez."

‡ The great difficulty in all your majesty's wars hath ever been of horsemen; the service of whom is either in battle to encounter the like, or to convey the victual."—*Surrey to the king.*

Boulogne when seven of these were captured by the English cruisers, advised that such vessels should be provided for relieving the town, by stealing along the shore from Calais. Surrey displayed, during his command, the ardour and activity which might be expected from his character; his enterprises were well planned; but, in the most important of them, which was undertaken to prevent Du Biez from introducing a convoy into the fort, the object was effected at a heavy cost: the enemy's horse had been routed, and their harquebusseers broken; the squadron of pike and bill-men, led on by Surrey himself, then attacked the lansquenets. When they came to the push, the second rank took panic and fled; and the first, which was chiefly composed of captains and gentlemen who had volunteered their service there, suffered severely; for being thus abandoned, they did their devoir, and maintained their country's honour and their own to the uttermost. Surrey exerted himself in vain to rally the runaways; "the fury of their flight," he says, "was such, that nothing could avail to stay them." The loss was 205, all in the first rank, brave men, and many of them were of note. The French, in their account, exaggerate it from 700 to 800 slain, and seven or eight score prisoners. But Surrey said, in his letter to the king, that "albeit the success in all things was not as we wished, yet was the enemies' intent disappointed, which could not have been otherwise done; and more of their part slain than of ours, and the fortress in as great misery as before, and a sudden flight the let of a full victory. And if any disorder there were, we assure your majesty there was no default in the rulers, nor lack of courage to be given them, but a humour that sometime reigneth in Englishmen." †

A. D. 1546.

Negotiations for peace were now commenced through the emperor's mediation*: they were of no effect; and France, meanwhile, had remitted none of its exertions for the recovery of Boulogne. By the advice of two

* Nott's Surrey, 193. 187, 188.

† Ibid. 198—201.

Hungarian engineers, cannon were made of a greater calibre than ever had been seen in those parts. The rhinegrave was engaged to bring from Germany 84 ensigns to reinforce the old bands; and, besides other levies, it was said that 4000 gipsies were to serve as pioneers, "whom it was thought the French king minding to avoid out of his realm, determined, before their departure, to employ this year on that kind of service; and that by their help, before their despatch, he hoped with a tumbling trench to fill the dykes of the town."* Henry was informed that the French meant to erect a fort at St. John's road, between Boulogne and Calais, which would be to the great annoyance of both places; to prevent them, therefore, he sent over Hertford and the lord admiral Dudley, and they arrived in the road two days before the French had appointed to be there. They came in too great strength for M. du Biez to attempt any thing against them by land; and they constructed two fortresses, one at Ambleteuse (which the English called Hamble-Thew), and another about two miles off, at Black Ness. The enemy meantime were not inactive by sea: their galleys now and then approached the shore where the English army lay in camp, and shot off their ordnance; they came also before Calais, and fired at the town; and, before Dudley went out to encounter them, they had done much hurt, and captured several victuallers. One day, when four of the king's ships and as many pinnaces were off Ambleteuse, they were assailed by eighteen galleys, "and so there was great shooting between them:" at length one of the galleys was taken, having 280 soldiers on board and 140 rowers; "the rest of their galleys packed away." A more serious danger threatened the English in their own camp. There were 5000 mercenaries in the army, of whom 3900 were lansquenets, under their colonel, Conrade Phenning, commonly called Court-penny; these latter, upon some dispute with their captain, mutinied, put themselves in order of battle, seized upon the great artillery, and defied the whole camp. Upon this every

May 18.

* Council of Boulogne to the Privy Council, Nott's Surrey, 208, 209.

man was ordered to repair to his ensign: the Spaniards, of whom there were 1500 mercenaries, took part with the English; had they joined the mutineers, the most fatal consequences might have ensued, for the whole force in Boulogne and the Boulonnois was but 9300 men. Their fidelity, and the resolute conduct of the English troops, enabled the chiefs to suppress this dangerous commotion, and six of the ringleaders suffered death. After this chastisement Hertford relied so well upon the lansquenets, that he stationed them to cover the erection of another fort, called Boulogne Berg, in front of the enemy, who were encamped at a distance of less than two miles, by the church on the hill. Some skirmishes, which it would not have been easy to prevent, took place between the two armies; but the commanders would have been inexcusable if they had now brought on a general action; for negotiations had been renewed, and were far advanced, and early in the ensuing month peace was concluded.*

May 21.

The most important condition — the only one, indeed, which there could be any difficulty in adjusting — was, that Boulogne should be restored to the king of France, upon payment of 800,000 crowns within the term of eight years to the king of England; the place during that term remaining in his hands as an assurance for the money. This was a transaction which bore a better colour to the French than to the English people. If there was no honour in recovering, by purchase, from an enemy, what he had taken by force of arms, there was the reasonable plea that the reconquest, even if it were not doubtful, was likely to occasion a heavier expenditure, and that the French blood which it must have cost was spared. But the condition could appear in no such favourable light to the English nation. They knew that a great price in English blood had been paid for the conquest, and they grudged it not, for they thought that Boulogne was well worth what it had cost. Surrey called it a jewel; great interest was taken by the

* Holinshed, 854—856.

people in the struggle for retaining it; and the name of one of the oldest inns in London, absurdly corrupted as it is, shows at this day that Boulogne and its harbour were then the favourite topic of popular discourse. And while Calais was considered to be a most important possession, as assuredly it then was, the people were not wrong in thinking that its value was greatly enhanced, and its security improved, by the annexation of Boulogne to the English pale.

Peace, however, even to warlike nations, hath ever a blessed sound; for, however warlike a part of the people may be, the far greater number must always be desirous of enjoying the fruits of their labour in tranquillity. Both nations are said to have been pleased with it, and yet both mistrusted its continuance. And "verily (in the chronicler's words) the old proverb seemed to be thoroughly verified, which sayth, "that what the eye seeth the heart rueth;" for the Frenchmen still longed for Boulogne, and the Englishmen meant not willing to give it up." The captain of Montplaisir, M. de Chastillon, afterwards so well known in history as admiral Coligny, began to erect a bastion at the very mouth of the harbour, sportively naming it Chastillon's garden: he did this as if it were presumed on both sides that no possible contingency could prevent the fulfilment of the agreement; the motive by which he was actuated being, that if such a contingency should occur, France might command the harbour, and thus at any time be enabled to reduce the town by blockade. Lord Grey of Wilton, who was again in command there, lost no time in despatching information to the king, and asking for instructions. Henry laid it before his council, and demanded their opinion. They gave it to this effect,—that the conditions of the peace were not in anywise to be infringed. Sir William Paget, the secretary, was commanded accordingly thus to write, and the king signed the letter, willing at the same time that the messenger, sir Thomas Palmer, "should know of his further pleasure before he departed." Sir Thomas, therefore, hav-

ing received his despatches, repaired to the king's privy chamber. "Palmer," said the king, "you have there a letter from us to the lord Grey, that he do in nowise deal in the matter whereof he hath by you advertised us; notwithstanding I will that you deliver him this message from us. Bid him call to mind how we have brought up his brethren and himself, not a short time, but even from tender years; nor far off, but still near to our person; and tell him, that if that be in him which we conceive, this doth breed in us an odd trust of fervency to serve us of him more than a common servant or subject. By that token, will him, whatsoever I have written to the contrary, that he presently impeach the fortifications of Chastillon's Garden, and rase it if it be possible; and this my message shall be his clearing therein, and the service gratefully accepted." Sir Thomas, somewhat astonished at this, considering the importance of the matter, ventured to represent that a bare message delivered by him was like to have, and, indeed, ought to have, small credit when thus directly opposed to the tenour of his majesty's written commands. But Henry cut him short, saying, "Deliver thou the message; the executing thereof be at his choice."

When the lord Grey had read his despatches and heard the messenger's bidding, he assembled his council, laid the king's letters before them, and then desired sir Thomas to repeat the king's message; that done, sir Thomas was desired to withdraw, and every one to deliver his opinion. "It went roundly through the board, without any question, that the letter was to be followed, the message not to be stayed on." The lord Grey made no reply, but again called on sir Thomas, bade him again repeat the message, ordered the clerk of the council to write it verbatim as it was delivered, and, when it was thus put in writing, required each of the board to testify it by his signature. He then broke up the council, ordered the gates to be shut, and issued private orders that certain troops and a body of pioneers should hold them-

selves in readiness at a certain hour that night. The hour came, he issued out with this company, crossed the water, and, without any alarm, demolished, in three or four hours, the work of as many weeks; then re-entered the town as quietly as he had left it, and immediately sent sir Thomas Palmer back to the king with the news. His return was so speedy, that when he was introduced into the chamber of presence, Henry, upon recognising him, said aloud, "What! will he do it or no?" Sir Thomas presented his letters, and said that thereby his majesty would be informed. "Nay," rejoined the king, earnestly, "tell us, I say, whether he will do it or no?" And being told that it was done, and the whole fortification rased, he called joyfully to certain lords of the council who were in the chamber, and said, "How say you, my lords, Chastillon's Garden is laid flat as this floor!" One of them made answer, that the person who had done it deserved to lose his head. The king replied, he had rather lose a dozen such heads as his who had delivered that opinion, than one of such a servant as had achieved that service; "and herewith he commanded that the lord Grey's pardon should be made out, the which, with a letter of great thanks and promises of reward, were returned by the said sir Thomas Palmer to the said lord Grey; but the reward failed, the king not continuing long after in life." *

The French king was not prepared at that time to renew the war; and, instead of expressing any displeasure

* Holinshed, 859—861. "This," says the chronicler, "have I set down the more willingly, for that I have received it from them which have heard it reported not only by the lord Grey's own mouth, but also by the relation of sir Thomas Palmer and others, who were present; the same not tending so much to the lord Grey's own praise, as to the betokening of the king's noble courage, and the great secret trust which he worthily reposed in the said lord Grey. Here is to be noted also, lest any man should mistake the matter, as if the king dealt indirectly herein, that his majesty, knowing how the Frenchmen, in going about to build this fort, did more than they might by the covenant of the peace, was, therefore, resolved, at the first advertisement thereof, to have it rased. But yet for that it might happily have been signified over unto the Frenchman before my lord Grey could have accomplished the feat, he, therefore, wisely wrote one thing in his letters whereunto many might be privy, and sent secret knowledge by words contrary to the contents of the same letters, so as, if the messenger were trusty, his pleasure might not be discovered, to the hinderance or disappointing of the same."

at an act which he must have known that circumstances justified*, ordered the trenches which had been made about the demolished fort to be filled up by his own people. Henry VIII. was an old lion whom it would have been dangerous to rouse. The death of Henry soon ensued. More had been done for the improvement of the navy in his than in any former reign.† In that reign it was that a navy office was formed, and that regular arsenals were established for its support and equipment, at Portsmouth, Woolwich, and Deptford.‡ The change in maritime warfare consequent upon the use of gunpowder rendered ships of a new construction necessary. Italian shipwrights, as being then the most expert, were sent for, and at the conclusion of this reign the royal navy consisted of seventy-one vessels; thirty of these were ships of burthen§, two were galleys, and the rest were small barks and row barges from eighty to fifteen tons, which served in rivers and landing of men. Seventy years later, Henry VIII.'s navy was called puissant. Five years after his death, when private interests were more regarded in the councils of a minor, it was reduced one half in tonnage, and nearly one third in the number of vessels.‖

A.D. 1553.

Henry was not without good cause for apprehending that, before the time fixed for the purchase and restoration of Boulogne should expire, the relations between France and England might undergo another change.

* Vincent Carloix, relating a conversation which ended in warm words between the protector Somerset and M de Vieilleville, introduces, on Somerset's alleged authority, an article in the last treaty of peace, whereby it was provided that "quant le roi de France voudra, ou pourra prendre la ville de Boulogne, et desmanteler tous les forts bastis, ou commencés à bastir à l'entour d'icelle, il luy sera licite de l'entreprendre, et faire tous ses efforts de l'exécuter: et ne sera ce present accord aucunement alteré, ny à celuy prejudicié en aucune façon." (Coll. des Mém. xxviii. 313.) The French editor observes upon this, that, though no such article occurs in the printed treaty, it may have been a secret one. But Boulogne was the specific object in dispute when that treaty was made, and to have excepted it in the terms of peace would have, in fact, nullified the treaty.

† Lord Nugent, in his Memorials of Hampden (i. 129.), has said, that "our naval power slept under the chilling despotism of the Plantagenets and of the first Tudors!"

‡ Charnock, ii. 48.

§ Containing in all 10,550 tons. Ibid. ii. 246.

‖ Report of the Commission, 1618, in Charnock, ii. 246.

The mutability of his own views had taught him how little reliance could be placed upon treaties, or the consistency of state councils; and history, even then, had shown, that, though England has had peaceful rulers, the French have constitutionally, as it were, appeared to be a military people. A Scottish war, fomented, as all such wars were, by money and men from France; and the turbulent state of England, occasioned not by the reformation of religious abuses, but by the abuse of that reformation, and the profanation, and rapacity, and cruelty committed under that name, presented the enemy with a favourable opportunity of recovering their losses in the Boulonnois; and, before war was declared between the two nations, an attempt was made to surprise the fortress of Boulogne-berg, which was garrisoned by somewhat less than 400 men, under sir Nicholas Arnault. M. de Chastillon approached it in the night with a sufficient force, and with all implements for entering it by escalade. Among his people was one Carter, an Englishman, who had married in that country, and, being discharged from the service of his own king at the peace, had remained there, and entered into that of the French, not looking so far before him as to apprehend that he might be called upon to act against his countrymen. Finding himself now compelled either to break his present engagements or his allegiance, he slipped aside from the ranks when they were within less than a quarter of a mile from the fort, and, running thither with all speed, called aloud, and gave the alarm. One soldier, who was on the look-out, knew him, and brought him to the drawbridge: sir Nicholas caused him to be "drawn up betwixt two pikes;" and from his report of the instant danger, the men were ordered to arms. Before they could be well ready and at their posts appointed, the French were got to the ditches, and, appointing 3000 of their number, "the most part gentlemen and double pays, to have the first scale, saluted them within, upon their very approach, with 700 harquebuss shot at the first *volée*."

A.D. 1554.

The English kept close, as they had been commanded, till the enemy had set up their ladders, and "began to mount and enter upon them: at which instant off went the flankers." Those of sir Nicholas Arnault's mount discharged very well at the first, but at the second *volée* the mortars burst: two brass pieces, however, on the same mount did good service; and there were burst upon the faces of the enemy (over and besides the shot that was bestowed among them), to the number of 1500 pikes and black bills. "The Frenchmen," says Holinshed, "verily stuck to it to the uttermost, and did what lay in the very last point of their power to enter. At length, through shots, casting down of stones and timber upon their heads, scalding water, and hand blows, they were repelled, and retired out of the trenches shortly after break of day, having continued the assault from midnight till that time, and supplying still the places of their dead and weary men with fresh succours. Five and twenty of the English were slain, fifty-eight wounded; among the latter were Carter and the governor. The French carried off their dead, and sent, a day or two afterwards, to enquire if any prisoners had been taken. Sir Nicholas replied that he knew of no war; and therefore, if any had attempted to surprise his place by stealth, they were served according to their malicious intentions. 'Indeed,' said he to the messenger, 'we have taken none of your men, but we have got some of your brave gilt armour and weapons.' 'Well,' said the messenger, 'it is not the cowl that maketh the monk, and no more is it the brave armour or weapon that maketh the man of war; but the fortune of war is such sometimes to gain and sometimes to lose.' Sir Nicholas made him good cheer in the fort, and gave him fifty crowns, and so he departed." *

The man's remark upon the variable fortune of war was soon verified; but, before it turned against England, the French suffered a severe repulse, in an attempt upon the islands of Jersey and Guernsey. There had been

* Holinshed, 907—909.

notice of the intended attempt, and an officer, by name Winter, was sent with 800 men to reinforce the inhabitants. The enemy are said to have landed 2000 troops, and, after losing half their number, to have re-imbarked and fled, abandoning their large ships. It is written that the bodies of 1000 gentlemen were carried from this expedition in one vessel into the same town for interment; and the absurd fable has been added, that an inhibition was given out by the French king, not to speak of this miscarriage on pain of death. This story, more than the silence of all the French writers, has thrown some discredit upon the relation.*

Meantime the king of France joined his army between Montreuil and Boulogne. The Pont de Brique was repaired and made passable for artillery; and, passing by Boulogne-berg, he halted between that place and the forest of Suren, long enough to throw up entrenchments, in which a force was left sufficient to secure the passage of provisions to his camp. This done, he pitched his tents on a hill near Ambleteuse, and, having viewed the forts, planted five and twenty pieces of artillery against the fort of Salacques, built in a place called the Almain camp, at a little distance from Ambleteuse. The fierce fire that was opened so frightened Charles Stourton, the captain of the place, and George Willoughby, a gentleman associated with him, that they came out to parley with the constable, and went to him in the trenches, without stipulating previously for a suspension of hostilities. What they demanded was, that they might depart with bag and baggage; but the constable purposely detained them in debating upon terms, till his soldiers forced their way into a place which the garrison, trusting to the proposed capitulation, were not upon the alert to defend. They put to the sword some fourscore who attempted to make head against them, the fort containing 230 persons, men and women.

Aug. 24.

This done, the guns were turned against the castle of Ambleteuse; the lord John Grey, who commanded

* Holinshed, 1012. Campbell, i. 279.

there, withdrew the men into the main fort, that his means of resistance which at the most were too small, might not be diminished by dividing them. On the following day the French made their approaches and began to batter the fort: they summoned it after the king's dinner; and the lord Grey refused to admit the herald, lest he should discover the weakness of the place. But he did this discourteously; so that the king was with some reason offended, and the battery was renewed with such angry determination, that the lord John and the captains within perceived they were not able by any means to defend the place any longer. They offered, therefore, to surrender upon composition, and could obtain no better terms than that "the general (for honour sake) should have one horse to ride on, in his corselet, without sword or dagger:" the same sort of honour was allowed to two other officers; but all the other troops, with the women and children, were to depart on foot in their shirts, leaving all their goods and substance behind them. The capitulation did not secure them from the brutality of the French soldiers, who, entering by the trenches, sacked all they could lay hands on. M. de Dessé, who had just arrived from Scotland, where he commanded the French succours, saved many of the women from these ruffians, and, getting them out through the breach, presented them to the king, who ordered them to be safely escorted, with all they had about them, till they were out of danger. The others were marched out three and three, from 700 to 800 in all, of both sexes, many being hurt and maimed; some with half a shirt on to cover them, and divers stark naked: in this plight they were marched before Henri II., who stood there to behold this poor triumph, with "his whole army drawn up in order on either side, that they might pass betwixt their ranks, as it were through a lane." The commander in Blacquenay did not wait to be besieged, but proposed to surrender on the same terms which had been granted to Ambleteuse;

he did not inform himself what those terms were, and they were granted in derision.*

Sir Nicholas Arnault, seeing now that he could make no successful resistance in Boulogne-berg, removed every thing out of it to Boulogne, and set fire to the fort. Boulogne itself and La Tour d'Ordre, or the Old Man, as it was called, at the mouth of the harbour on the right bank of the river, were all that now remained in possession of the English in the Boulonnois. This tower the king proceeded to besiege; but M. de Vieilleville, as a business of more importance, proposed to construct a fort above it on the coast, and thereby not only cut off the tower from supplies either by land or sea, but prevent the communication along the coast between Calais and Boulogne. While this work was in progress, the mareschal took the opportunity of manifesting his resentment of some words which, during his embassy in England, had passed between him and the protector Somerset. He sent his son-in-law, M. d'Espinay, with the gentlemen of his household and a trumpet, to the gates of Boulogne, where they challenged Somerset, if he were there, to break a lance with Vieilleville. The reply was, that Somerset was ill, and at London. It was then demanded whether any brave knight would take his place; and to this, the French writer says, no man made answer. D'Espinay then, in his own name, challenged any son of a "*millort*," stating who he was, and that he had not yet completed his twentieth year; and this challenge, against the opinion, it is said, of all the English captains, was accepted by a son of Dudley's, who was of the same age. The conditions were, that whichever might be dismounted should remain prisoner, and his horse and arms become the property of the victor. The sieur de Taillade, one of the gentlemen who accompanied d'Espinay, was the most skilful man of his age in the management of horses. As soon as he saw Dudley come out of the gates, mounted on a fine Spanish horse, he said to d'Espinay, "I will tell you

* Mém. de M. de Vieilleville. Coll. Gén. xxix. 190—192. Holinshed, 1012.

how you shall take this *millort.* Do you not see that he rides like an Albanian, his knees almost touching the saddle-bow? Sit you firm, and do not couch your spear till you are within three or four paces of him; for when the spear is couched at a distance the point droops before it comes to the push, and the more so because the sight is confused then by the visor." Dudley missed his attaint; d'Espinay observed the caution which had been given, unhorsed his antagonist, and, carrying him away prisoner, presented him to the king.* But the king, well pleased, returned the noble prisoner, and, drawing his sword, gave the captor the accolade, knighting him upon the spot.†

Fort Vieilleville, as the new work was called, had distressed the Old Man; and the French were persuaded not only that they should speedily reduce this last of the English outworks, but that Boulogne itself would soon fall into their hands. They inferred this from the language of Dudley's friends who came under a safe-conduct to visit him, and who were supposed to be preparing the way for a capitulation; for they cursed the day on which the late king had taken Boulogne, and said that, if they were of the council of state, their advice would be, to try by some fair composition to get rid of a place which had drained England both of men and money.‡ The garrison, however, manifested no such disposition, but were ready at any time for a sharp skirmish; and while Henri was preparing to besiege the town, as soon as the tower should have been taken,

* "Le suppliant de le prendre, comme si c'estoit le roy de l'Angleterre; et que s'il estoit de ceste qualité, il seroit plus hardy de luy en faire ung présent."

† Mém. de Vieilleville, 194—198.

‡ "Tenants une infinité d'aultres langaiges, parmy la bonne chère qu'on leur faisoit aux tentes et pavillons de M. de Vieilleville et de M d'Espinay, par lesquelles on jugeoit aisément qu'ils estoient ennuyés de ceste guerre, ou que par la honteuse reddition de tant de forts, ils auroient perdu le courage." (199.) Vincent Carloix says, also, that they said the king of England had no right to Boulogne, because his father had obtained it, not by true and lawful arms, but by treason and corruption, which derogated from the reputation of the king and crown of England. This is not likely; for, though Vervin suffered death on a charge of corruption, as well as cowardice, of the former charge, at least, he must be considered as exonerated, when his memory was rehabilitated a few years afterwards.

a storm of wind and rain, continuing eight and forty hours, without intermission, blew down his tents, not one remaining standing, and deluged his camp. Many soldiers saved themselves by swimming; yet more than 200 were drowned, and many more must have perished without the aid of their horses. The king was thus obliged to leave a camp which the elements had broken up. The garrison of Boulogne made the loudest demonstrations of joy for this retreat, but failed to take that advantage of it to which opportunity invited them; for the cavalry, jaded as it was, could have afforded no protection to the retreating forces, and a few hundred archers might have exterminated the army. So sensible, indeed, were the French of the danger from which they had escaped, that the officer who occupied the burnt fort of Boulogne-berg made as much rejoicing for their safe arrival there, as the English had done for their own deliverance.

Having garrisoned his conquests, Henry dismissed the remainder of his army. Young Dudley now requested d'Espinay to fix his ransom, that he might not be carried farther into the country; and when asked if he was tired of his company, and had no wish to go as far as Paris, he replied, that he had business of such consequence to settle in England, that, rather than be delayed, he would pay a double ransom. One of his people took d'Espinay aside, informed him that his master was engaged to marry a daughter of the earl of Bedford, and that the lady was in a state of great unhappiness because of his captivity. After this explanation, d'Espinay told his prisoner that he might depart as soon as he pleased, and should be provided with a full passport: Dudley thanked him, desired him to name the sum which he must pay, and was about to enter into a detail of his means, when the noble Frenchman interrupted him by saying that no explanation upon that matter was required: this, he believed, had been on both sides their first essay in arms, and ought not, therefore, to be made an affair of money. The war was not finished be-

tween the respective kings, and the same fortune might befall himself. All that he required of him was, that he would remember the house of Espinay, the lords of which did not go to war for the sake of acquiring riches, being rich enough, but to gain honour, and to uphold their ancient reputation. The only ransom, therefore, that he desired would be four English horses, such as were worthy to be presented to the princes and princesses, for whom he intended them. As a further courtesy, he restored the fine Spanish horse which had become his by the right of arms; but this the grateful Englishman refused to accept, requesting his captor to keep it in remembrance of him, "and, that you may be the more reminded of me, said he, I will change its name: it has hitherto been called Bedford, after my mistress; henceforth let it be called Dudley." The story proceeds to say, that the lord admiral who had provided 7000 crowns for his son's ransom, had all the studs in England searched to select the six finest horses that could be found; that he sent with them six mastiffs, which would be almost as acceptable a present; and that, as a memorial of his obligation to M. d'Espinay and mareschal de Vieilleville, he set up their arms in the painted windows of all his mansions.*

* Mem. de Vieilleville, 202—207. The historian of M. de Vieilleville has embellished the story with circumstances which cannot be true.

Henry II. joined his army on the 23d of August, 1549, and the campaign was concluded in three weeks from that time. (Mém. de Vieilleville, 201.) Now, the first earl of Bedford was not raised to that title till the ensuing year (Collins's Peerage, i. 268.); consequently that name could not have been given to a horse in honour of a daughter of lord Russell, or of her father, at that time.

But this is not the only conclusive proof against the circumstances with which the story has been set out. Ambrose Dudley married Anne, daughter to the second earl of Bedford, which earl succeeded to that title ten years after the date of this story, in the 27th year of his age. Of course he could have had no marriageable daughter at this time. The lady Anne Russell was the third wife of this Dudley, and he was probably a married man in 1549, for his first wife died in 1552, and their son died before her. (Collins's Mem. of the Sydneys, &c. p. 39.)

The story, then, is demonstrably false in these particulars. I should be sorry to infer from it that the old French memoirs are as little to be trusted as those of the present age; and, though the tale has been thus embellished without regard to truth, I have not discredited it altogether. The other circumstances are honourable to the French, and, therefore, an English historian is bound in honour to relate them.

I must observe, however, that the challenge is said to have arisen from

Among the charges brought against the protector Somerset, in the first proceedings against him for misdemeanours and high treason, was his neglect in supplying and reinforcing the forts about Boulogne, "albeit he was advertised of their defaults."* To this neglect their loss was imputed. Dudley took care that a charge which had been made instrumental for the overthrow of his great rival should not be used against himself; he lost no time in sending over the foreign troops, by whose help the insurrection in England had been suppressed; and, before the close of the year, 3000 English troops joined them in the marches of Calais. Chastillon made several attempts against Boulogne during the winter; but the spirit which was manifested there, convinced him not only that the place was tenable, but that it would be well maintained; and when negotiations for peace were opened his opinion was, that, considering the certain cost of life which must be incurred in besieging the place, it was better to obtain Boulogne by purchase than by conquest. France obtained honour enough in the transaction; for Francis I. had acknowledged a debt of 2,000,000 crowns to the crown of England as arrears of pension, and Henri II. absolutely refused to pay it, saying he never would render himself tributary to any prince; it was therefore more a mark of weakness in England to accept of 400,000 crowns for the immediate restitution of Boulogne than in France to offer it. The king himself, shortly after its delivery, repaired thither, and, entering the town with all the royal pomp that might be, offered a great image of silver to the Lady of the place, instead of that which had been carried off by the English at the time of the capture. †

The navy had been much diminished during the

high words which passed between M. de Vieilleville and the protector Somerset; and that the account which Vincent Carloix gives of that dispute is to be distrusted, because it begins with alleging an imaginary article in the treaty of peace (see p. 243.).

* Howell's State Trials, ii. 511.

† Mem. de Vieilleville, 211. Holinshed, 1022.

short reign of Edward VI., and that of Mary opened with an ill omen. The Great Harry, "the notablest ship in England, was burnt at Woolwich through the carelessness of the sailors."* But in this unhappy reign England had to endure persecution in its fiercest form at home, and disgrace abroad. When the king of France received a declaration of war on the part of England, less for any national ground of hostilities or provocation, either real or alleged, than in consequence of the matrimonial alliance of Philip and Mary, he replied to the herald, in presence of his nobles and of the foreign ambassadors at his court, that he accepted the declaration, but wished it to be known by all, that, as far as in him lay, he had fully observed all the conditions of the peace between the French and English, and had cultivated in good faith the friendship of the queen: he hoped, therefore, that God would show his displeasure at this breach of treaty, and that this war would prove detrimental to the English, as the last and so many former ones had proved.† A force of 1000 horse, 4000 foot, and 2000 pioneers were sent to co-operate with the Spaniards: they served at the siege of St. Quentin; and, having proved their courage in the assault by which that town was carried, brought a reproach upon themselves and their country by the excesses which they committed in the sackage. The war was not popular in England at its commencement; it was felt there that the queen, "contrary to promise, had tangled herself in her husband's quarrel," and, when no occasion for a breach of peace had been offered, had sought one wilfully. But when public rejoicings for the battle of St. Quentin and the capture of the town were made throughout England by the queen's command, the giddy people exulted as heartily as if the victory had been obtained in a national cause; a sudden and short gladness, which, as the chronicler has said, was soon turned to a great and long sorrow.

A.D. 1557.

* Holinshed, iv. 5.
† Thuanus, lib. xix. p. 529. Rabutin, Coll. du Mém. f. 39. 9. 298.

The English government was apprised that an attempt was likely to be made upon Calais. The intelligence was either disbelieved or disregarded; and when Philip sent the like advices to his queen, and proposed to reinforce the garrison, which was much too weak for the defence of such a place, with a body of Spanish troops, the offer, from a jealousy as groundless as it was ill-timed, was declined.

A. D. 1558. The plan had been formed* by the seigneur de Senarpont, the king's lieutenant in Picardy, and communicated by him to admiral Coligny and the constable Montmorency; and, if the battle of St. Quentin had proved favourable to the French, the latter was immediately to have undertaken it. After the loss of that battle, the greatest exertions were made for bringing another army into the field. The duc de Guise was appointed to the command; it was determined in council not to employ this force in attempting to recover the places which the Spaniards had recently taken, because they were well fortified and supplied; and, moreover, there was reason to apprehend that the soldiers would take the field without hope of victory, if they were to engage near the scene of their late overthrow. On the other hand, the very confidence of the English afforded good prospect of succeeding in an attack upon Calais, and success there would abundantly compensate for all their losses. There is a spirit of miserable economy, which oftentimes proves, in state affairs, more costly than even a prodigal expenditure: Calais was thought secure from assault during the winter, and, for that reason, its garrison was reduced to one third in the winter months. The lord deputy Wentworth represented the danger of thus depriving it of the means of defence; but his representations were treated with contempt, and the court of France failed not to profit by an imprudence which could not be concealed. Early in November, Strozzi and d'Elbene reconnoitred the place and all its adjacent forts: they went in disguise, and performed their object perfectly. The attention of

the Spaniards was diverted by movements in Champagne, as if Luxemburg and Arlon were threatened. Guise, meantime, made it appear that he was engaged in victualling the castle of Dourlan, and afterwards, in storing and reinforcing the garrisons of Ardres and Boulogne; but, having secretly brought together his forces, he entered the English pale suddenly on New Year's day; and, sending one part of his army along the downs to Risebank, marched with the other to Nieuley, or Newnham Bridge, and, attacking in great force a little outwork at the village of St. Agatha, at the entrance of the causeway leading to that fort, got possession of it without difficulty, the garrison taking flight to Newnham. Thither he followed, commenced his approaches, and had his batteries ready to open by daybreak.*

A. D. 1559.

This first success, as it encouraged the French, is said to have disheartened the English. They had cause to be disheartened; the lord deputy knew that he could spare no assistance for the defence of the outworks, and therefore ordered the captain at Newnham, as soon as the place should be seriously attacked, to bring off his men. This, accordingly, was done; and, at the same time, Risebank surrendered with its garrison. Thus, on the third morning, Guise had gained possession of two most important posts, one commanding the entrance of the harbour, the other the other the approach across the marshes from Flanders. Having stationed part of his army to cut off the communication with Guisnes, he broke ground before the town, making his first attack against the Water Gate, and leading the besieged to suppose that this was the point at which his main efforts were directed, that they might "have the less regard unto the defence of the castle, which was the weakest part of the town, and the place where they were ascertained by their espials to win easy entry." While the garrison, being thus deceived, wasted their exertions in repairing a false breach, he planted fifteen double cannons

* Rabutin, Coll. des Mém. xxxix. 143—149. Thuanus, xx. 554. Holinshed, iv. 90.

against the castle; and they were served so well, that by the evening a large breach had been made. That same evening, M. d'Andelot was sent to fortify himself along the quay, by a deep trench, which, after draining the town ditch into the port, would serve as a covered way. And, to secure footing for his people after the ditch should have been drained (on the width and depth of which the garrison placed great reliance), he had brought thither by sea a great quantity of hurdles, well pitched, that, if need were, they might lie long in the water without rotting. Senarpont had devised these, as also a sort of pavaise (*postes* they were called), composed of hurdles, and made musket-proof*, light enough for the soldier to carry and fix before him into the ground. When the breach appeared practicable, about eight in the evening, at ebb tide, the sieur de Grandmont was sent out with some 300 harquebusiers to reconnoitre the preparations for defence, and dislodge those who might present themselves; at the same time, mareschal Strozzi, with a like number, and one or two hundred pioneers, was ordered to effect a lodgement at the other end of the port, and entrench themselves there, so as to ensure the command of the whole harbour; but this party was compelled to retreat. Meantime, the state of the breach having been ascertained, Guise, with his brothers d'Aumale and d'Elbœuf, advanced to the assault, and met the retreating party. Grandmont and Strozzi were ordered to commence the attack. Guise, who had forded the water when it was mid-deep, took his station at the foot of the breach; and the onslaught was made at a point where there had been no prepar-

* By being faced with a thick wadding of paper, according to the account which Rabutin gives, and which Thuanus has followed. "L'on avoit fait amener," he says, "grand nombre de pierriz et paillis de bois très sec, pour estre plus forts et legers, de la haulteur d'un homme, et de l'espesseur de demy pied couverts au dehors de trois ou quatre doigts du papier colle l'un sur l'autre, chose que l'harquebusade ne peut faulser aisément; lesquels avoient par le bas un appuy au bout duquel estoit une pointe de fer longue d'environ un pied et demy bien asserée, pour le planter, afin qu'il entrast plus facilement en terre quelque dure qu'elle fust. Et derriere iceux paillis (que l'on a appellée postes) les harquebusiers pouvoient tirer plus asseurément par une petite lumière qui estoit au milieu." — *Coll. des Mém.* xxxix. 154.

ation for a personal defence; for the castle being considered by the rulers of the town to be of no such force as might resist the battery of the cannon (by reason it was old and without any ramparts), it was devised to make a train with certain barrels of powder, and, when the French should enter, as it was known that there they would, blow up the keep. In an evil hour had the lord deputy, trusting to this device, withdrawn all his people from the castle. The French came with their clothes "wringing wet," moistened the ill-laid train, saw the failure of the attempt to kindle it, and entered the castle without any resistance. Guise left his brothers to command them there, and exhorted them to keep their ground; while he, before the tide came in too fast, recrossed to the army, that he might succour them as soon as it was break of day. They, however, who had won the castle so easily, thought to have entered the town from it, and completed their victory; but the marshal, sir Anthony Agar, with a body of brave men, encountered and repelled them, and endeavoured to retake the castle; persevering, till Agar, with his son and heir, and some fourscore followers, had fallen in the gallant but unsuccessful attempt.* No farther hope was entertained of recovering the castle, or holding out in the town, till succour, of which no sign was seen and no tidings had been received, might arrive from England. The lord deputy offered to capitulate, and was fain to submit to whatever terms the conqueror might impose: they were, that he, and fifty other persons to be named by the duke, should remain prisoners, and be put to their ransom; and the garrison and the inhabitants have their lives saved, and depart whither they would. As soon as the enemy entered, men, women, and children were commanded to leave the houses which were now no longer theirs, and assemble in the churches of Our Lady and of St. Nicholas, the lord deputy's house, and the belfry, and there remain till order could be taken for sending

* Rabutin, xxxix. 149—160. Thuanus, 555. Holinshed, 90—92.

them away. There they remained four-and-twenty hours, without food or drink. Proclamation was then made, commanding every one who had either jewels, plate, or money about them to the value of a single groat, to lay it upon the high altars of these two churches, on pain of death if they attempted to conceal any thing. "A great and sorrowful offertory" was made in obedience to this stern command; "and while they were at this offering within the churches," the French rifled their houses. But Guise is not to be reproached for this. It was in requital for the saccage of St. Quentin; and the sins of their countrymen were visited upon the miserable inhabitants of Calais.*

Thus conducting his enterprise with marvellous speed and no less policy, the duc de Guise in less than eight days, and in the depth of winter, took that town which had cost Edward III., in the height of his power and of his renown, an obstinate siege of more than eleven months. The whole number of men, women, and children who were counted as they went out at the gate, amounted to 4200, of whom only 500 were soldiers; to so disproportionate a force had the keeping of this important place been intrusted. The English government, which had despised its timely information of the danger, made all possible exertion, when it was all-too-late. Troops were collected at Dover, and there and in the country round they remained (either for that their whole number was not assembled, or because there were not ships enough ready to pass them over, though the wind and weather would have served well,) till the town was taken; but such terrible tempests then arose, and continued the space of four or five days together, that the like had not been seen before in remembrance of man: wherefore some said that the same was done by necromancy, and that the devil was raised up and become French ("the truth whereof," says Grafton, "is known to God"); but very true it is that no ship could brook the seas by reason of those extreme storms and

* Holinshed, 92.

tempests. And such of the queen's ships as did adventure the passage were so shaken and torn with violence of weather, that they were forced to return* with great danger, and with the loss of all their tackle and furniture.† Thus by negligence of the council at home, conspiracy of traitors elsewhere, force and false practice of enemies, holpen by the rage of most terrible tempests of contrary wind and weather, this famous fort of Calais was brought again to the hands and possession of the French." The English chroniclers are not justified in imputing this loss to any treason, nor to any false practice of the enemy. It was attacked more bravely than it was defended, and taken in fair, open, honourable war. But the English government was inexcusable for weakening the garrison, neglecting the warning which it had received, and refusing the proffered aid of the Spaniards.

Guise took counsel now whether he should attack Gravelines or Guisnes, and it was rightly determined that the latter, as being the strongest, was of the more importance. This other consideration must also have weighed with him, that it was of far greater consequence to complete the conquest of the English pale, than to capture a Flemish town. That pale would not have been lost if Calais had been as well defended as Guisnes, which it might have been had it been as well manned. The lord Grey of Wilton commanded there; knowing that it was no time now to distrust the aid of Spain, he obtained from Philip's army some Spanish and Burgundian soldiers, from 300 to 500 of whom made their way to him, notwithstanding the vigilance of the enemy. The town was large in compass, without walls

* Rabutin makes no mention of the storm. "Furent armez force navires," he says (p. 163), "et remplis de soldats et toutes munitions pour y envoyer secours. Mais quand ils approcherent et qu'ils recogneurent les enseignes et croix blanches plantées et venteler desja sur la tour de Risban, et les murailles de la ville, sans approcher d'avantage, s'en retournerent, pour reporter advertissement de ceste mauvaise adventure en leur pays." In this, as in the other parts of his relation, he is followed by Thuanus; but our own chroniclers are to be believed when they say, that "if this tempestuous weather had not chanced, it was thought that the army should have passed to have given some succour to Guisnes, and to have attempted the recovery of Calais."

† Grafton, ii. 559. Holinshed, 93.

or bulwarks, closed only with a trench. This he abandoned as being incapable of defence: such of the inhabitants as were capable of bearing arms he took into the castle; the rest went to seek their fortune whither they would. The castle was a place well fortified, "with strong and massy bulwarks of brick, having also a high and mighty tower, of great force and strength, called the keep." But cannon were now brought against fortifications which were constructed when far less formidable engines of demolition were in use. The French took possession of the deserted town, quartered themselves there, and were some sleeping as if in a place of security, others revelling over the spoils which they had found, when a chosen band sallied by a postern, slew many of them, drove the rest out, and set fire to the houses. The town was thus destroyed.

But this, though it manifested the determination of the captain, and the courage of the garrison, had no effect in impeding the siege, disproportional as the number of the besieged was to the force brought against them, and with no expectation nor even hope of relief. The duke began his trenches, and continued without intermission, "albeit the shot of the great artillery from the castle was terrible, and gave him great impeachment:" he himself, to animate his men, worked at the batteries, and assisted to draw the cannon. In less than three days he had brought five-and-thirty battering pieces, "hard to the brim of the castle ditch, to batter it on all sides, as well forth-right as across." But his principal battery was planted against the Mary bulwark, which was the strongest of the works, knowing that if this was taken, there could be little more resistance. At daybreak on the fourth day of the siege two batteries opened upon this bulwark, one with thirteen guns the other with nine; and were plied so well, that by noon they had dismounted the counter battery, and "clean cut away the hoop of brick off the whole forefront, whereof the filling being but of late digged earth" crumbled away. Perceiving this, the enemy, early in

the afternoon, sent a party to view and assay the breach: the ditch at that place nad been scarcely twenty-four feet wide; the rubbish had now half filled it, and it was not more than knee-deep. These men, therefore, "with small ado came to the breach, and with as little pain ascended it, the slope was so easy:" they discharged their pistols at the English, received a few pushes of the pike in return, and retired with their troops. Upon their report a band or two of Gascons threw themselves into the ditch, and up they came. Then," says Holinshed, "a little more earnestly the Englishmen leaned to their tackling: their flankers walked, their pikes, their culvers, their pots of wild fire were lent them, the harquebuss saluted them: so as jolly master Gascoigne was set down with more hurt than he came up with good speed." And here Monday's assault ended; but at the close the enemy "gave seven or eight such terrible tires of battery, as took clean away from them the top of their vaumure and maunds, leaving them all open to the cannon's mouth; whereby surely but for night that came on the Englishmen had been forced to have abandoned the place."

This day had cost the besieged some brave officers, Spanish as well as English, and about fifty men. At night lord Grey came to the bulwark, and having rendered thanks to God for that day's good success, encouraged his people with commendations and exhortations to continue as they had begun. To repair the damage which the bulwark had sustained, they constructed another, six feet deep and nine in thickness, thus rendering it stronger than before; but the enemy meantime planted two batteries more, from which the next morning they opened upon the flankers, that had annoyed them on the preceding day: all these except two they won, and fired also upon the breach eight or nine times within the hour. The breach was threatened in the afternoon, but the French were not eager to attempt it, their object being to discover what flankers were left within; and in this they were disappointed, lord Grey having ordered the gunners "not to disclose them but upon extremity."

After a light offer or two of approach, this party retired, "and gave the cannon place again, which by night had driven them within to become mouldwarps, and to intrench themselves with all speed possible." Wednesday was a dreadful day: the enemy effected no lodgement, but they demolished more of the defences, and disregarded their own greater loss of men which they could well afford. Lord Grey exerted himself during the night to remove the wounded, repair the breaches, and supply what stores he could; but by this time "corn-powder," fireworks, and even pikes began to fail. As he went about encouraging the men, and exhorting them to acquit themselves no less valiantly the next day than they had hitherto done, his foot was nearly thrust through by a sword which one of the soldiers wore without a scabbard, and he was obliged to withdraw that the wound might be dressed. Meantime great noise and working was heard in the ditch; and at last, by kindling cressets, it was ascertained that the enemy were making a bridge of casks, fastened together with ropes, and overlaid with hurdles and planks. By morning it was finished, but the battery was continued till two o'clock; by which time the only remaining flankers were taken, and the gunners slain. Lord Grey, then, with advice of the Spanish commander, Mondragon, and his own chief officers, thinking the bulwark no longer tenable, resolved to make only a show of resistance there, and when the enemy should have entered to blow it up.

But this determination was taken so late, that there seems to have been no time for preparing to carry it into effect. Guise had ordered a regiment of his best lansquenets to lead the assault; D'Andelot, with a body of French, was ready to support them. He himself took his station upon a rising ground, to witness the attack, and give orders as the emergency might require. The men were so eager for this service, that many, impatient of waiting till they could pass by the bridge, plunged into the ditch, though it was full of water, and though "from the bottom thereof to the top of the

breach was in some places well nigh forty feet *," in, however, they plunged, as the shortest way, and "without fear of the water beneath, or the fire above, they mounted the breach." There the defendants saluted them with such store of wildfire and "other fucasies," that they were "turned headlong one upon another faster than they came up;" and the duke himself, not enduring the sight, ran among his men, so reproving some and encouraging others †, that the assault was now renewed with much more vehemence and fury than before, "and with no less sturdy obstinacy and desperation received, so that all the breach beneath was filled with French carcasses." Fresh companies were brought up, and fresh assaults made, till the English, "being tired and greatly minished in their numbers, were of pure force driven to avoid; and so, after half an hour, the enemy entered, which when the lord Grey beheld, he leaped to the top of the rampire, wishing of God that some shot would take him! One that stood next him, by the scarf suddenly pulled him down, otherwise the effect had well declared the earnestness of the prayer; for he was not yet up again, when a cannon shot grated the place from whence he fell." Four hundred of the garrison, about a fourth of whom were Spaniards, were slain in this assault; and here, too, a Burgundian captain fell; Desquie he is called by the English chronicler, and his name deserves to be remembered; for "being full of the gout, and an impotent man, he would not yet be from his charge, but in his bed ended his life in the bulwark."

From 800 to 900 of the enemy fell in these fierce assaults. The breach having been won, the fight still continued within the bulwark, but now "to the great slaughter of them that defended it." Lord Grey called upon those who were about him to follow him; "but the maze was such, that except his son Arthur, his kinsman

* Rabutin (169.) makes the ditches seventy feet deep, and his editor has justly noticed the idle exaggeration.

† "Leur remit le cœur en ventre," is the strong expression of Rabutin. He has before said that Guise was afraid of exposing his men to a *fricassée*, by which word the slaughter produced by mines was in those days denoted

and deputy Lewis Dive, one other officer, and half-a-dozen armed corselets, not a man obeyed him. The men in the bulwark then receiving no support were driven out; yet the enemy, not adventuring to pass the brays, gave them leisure to reach the gate, where Grey, holding the wicket himself, received them in." Upon this the soldiers abandoned one yet remaining work, and the base-court also, flying to the castle. Only the keep and the body of the castle were now left; and when all were within, the gates were "rammed up." It was now night; and a trumpeter was sent by the duke, with offer of a parley, to treat for a surrender. "The soldiers no sooner heard this, than, forsaking the walls, they came all in rout together, and, confusedly speaking to their chieftain, prayed him to hearken to the message, and have consideration for their lives, which, so long as any hope remained, they willingly had ventured. The lord Grey's answer was, "that he marvelled, either what causeless mistrust of his caring for them was now come upon them, or what sudden unwonted faintness of mind had so assailed them, as to cause them, in such disorder, to forsake their places, and leave the walls naked; and he willed them to return thither." But it was thought fit not to reject the offer. Arthur Grey and Lewis Dive accordingly were sent out to treat. D'Andelot received them in the brays, and carried them over the bulwark, where "naked and new slain carcasses, some of them moving yet, and groaning under their feet, were the only earth they trod on!" It is added, that the breach and the ditch were "little less fraught with the enemy's corpses;" and that when they saw this, it was "somewhat to the ease of the former heavy sight." Lord Grey went out himself on the morrow to treat with the duke in person; but, after an hour's conference, the French commander refused to let the garrison march out with their banners displayed, and the English one insisted that an honour to which they had so well entitled themselves should be allowed them. The conference broke off upon this point.

No sooner had Grey re-entered the castle, than the soldiers, forsaking the walls, which would have been left for the enemy to enter, if M. d'Estrées, who was one of the French hostages, and a few gentlemen of lord Grey's retinue, had not remained there, hastened about him, crying upon him to have pity on them. But he, who seems to have possessed some of that stern resolution which his son afterwards displayed in Ireland, replied to them, "Only the pity that I have for you hath caused me this day to make such offers of composition, as neither your honesties, nor my honour, nor either of our duties, may well bear. Harder I refused to take, to the utter defacing of our credit, which the best would blot. If I would, methinks, soldiers, yourselves ought rather to turn your weapons upon me, and sacrifice so heartless a captain, than to take it as a token of regard for you, and yield me thanks for it. We have begun as became us; we have held on as yet as duty binds us; let us end, then, as duty and honour require us. The case is in no such extremity of despair, but that we may yet dearly enough sell our skins ere we lose them. Let us, then, either march out with our ensigns displayed, or die here under them." But whatever his own sense of honour might have been, it was not reasonable to expect that in a cause wherein no religious feeling entered, and in which nothing could result from the most heroic example of self-devotement, his men should sacrifice themselves. They "flatly answered, that they would not for his vain-glory sell their lives. In some other place they might yet serve their prince and their country: but to venture farther here was to be thrust like oxen to the butcher; and he must not expect that they would strike another blow for him." At this moment D'Estrées, who stood at the rampire, sent to tell him that unless the soldiers were ordered back to the walls, the Swiss assuredly would enter. "So constrained," Grey promised them to compound: they, for their own sake, presented themselves then again at the station, and the capitulation was concluded; all the

officers to remain prisoners, the men to depart with their arms and baggage whither they would.* From 800 to 900 men marched out, English and Burgundians; of the Spaniards, almost all had fallen, "selling their lives right dearly, according to the order of good and hardy soldiers." Arthur lord Grey, when the Spaniards in Ireland yielded themselves to his mercy, ought to have remembered how faithfully their countrymen had stood by his father at the siege of Guisnes.†

Nothing now remained unconquered within the English pale, except the little castle of Hammes, which being surrounded with marshes could not easily be approached with great ordnance, neither could an army encamp before it. The only access was by a narrow causeway, traversed in many places by deep ditches, which were always full of water. The captain, Edward lord Dudley, had removed all the bridges in time; and on the night after the surrender of Guisnes escaped with his small garrison, by a secret passage over the marsh, into Flanders. Thus was the conquest of the English pale completed. "No need," says Holinshed, "to ask how this news was received, not only of the

* Holinshed says that the lord Grey was given by Guise to mareschal Strozzi, and from him sold to M. de Randan, by whom he came into the hands of his brother the comte de Rochefoucault, and there rested till he was ransomed for 24,000 crowns. But in the memoirs of mareschal de Tavannes (Coll. du Mém. 26—174), it is said that Guise gave his prisoner to Tavannes as a reward for his services during the expedition, and that Tavannes sent him to Dijon, and received for his ransom 60,000 crowns. At Calais son butin fut en livres Grecs, Hébreux, et Latins, qu'il donna à son frere de ville francon, amateur des lettres. (ib. 173.)

Vincent Carloix charges Guise with inhumanity towards the inhabitants of Calais: he says, "Ne voulant pas qu'au sortir de la ville, ils allassent à la comté d'Oye, ny en Flandres, il les contraignit de demeurer sur le bord de la mer deux jours entiers, et en hyver, avec leur malades et enfans, attendre des vaisseaux pour passer en Angleterre." (Mém. de M. de Vielleville, Coll. du Mém. t. iii 189.) This would not have been inconsistent with the character of the duc de Guise. Speaking of a similar expulsion after the capture of Thionville, the same writer says, "Ce deslogement estoit fort pitoyable, de veoir un nombre infini de vieillards, de femmes, de filles, d'enfants, et de soldats blessez et estropiez se retirer de telle façon, et abandonner leurs terres, maisons et propres héritages, et n'y avoit personne qui n'en fust saisy de quelque compassion, hormis M. de Guise." (ib. 184.) But Guise must certainly be acquitted of any cruelty at Calais; no complaint is made by the English chroniclers; and Holinshed says that "the meaner sort" when they left the town were guarded through the army with a number of Scottish light horsemen, who used the Englishmen very well and friendly. (92.)

† Grafton, ii. 558—561. Holinshed, iv. 94—100. Rabutin, 164—173. Rabutin most unjustly censures Grey as if he had made a cowardly surrender

French king and all his court, but also universally through the whole realm of France; for it is constantly affirmed, that ever since the town of Calais was first won by Englishmen, in all solemn councils assembled to treat upon the state of France there was a special person appointed to put them in remembrance of Calais, from time to time: as it were to be wished that the like were used in England, until it were regained from the French." In their exultation for this great success, the *tiers etat* granted the king two millions of crowns, to defray the cost of the campaign, and for the further maintenance of the war; and the clergy, beside their tenths, contributed another million: the commons at the same time declared, that if these sums were not sufficient for compelling the enemy to make a good peace, the rest of their goods, and their persons also, should be at the king's service.* Such is ever the effect of success upon the multitude, who judge of the policy of wars by no other criterion. Pope Paul IV., who was at that time displeased with queen Mary, notwithstanding her burning zeal for the church of Rome, congratulated the French king upon a conquest, by which, he said, God had been pleased to show his justice, and chastise the pride of the English queen: the recovery of Calais, he said, was more to be valued than the conquest of half England would have been.† At the time, indeed, the advantage and the glory were not estimated more highly in France than the loss and the reproach were felt by the people of England. But they were far from being commensurate. If public opinion, and the king's temper, would have permitted, Wolsey, it has been said, would have sold Calais, glad to have his country rid of it in any way that did not imply weakness or dishonour. Its importance as a mart was wholly factitious; and though it was once deemed that Calais and Dover were the two eyes of the English sovereign, by which the command of the narrow seas was secured, a short time sufficed for proving, that English ships and English sailors were capable of keeping those seas, and

* Rabutin, 193. † Ib. Obser. p. 318.

defending their own shores, against the most formidable force that could be brought against them.

The French king visited the conquered pale before the end of the month, approved of the orders which Guise had given for demolishing Guisnes, which, though a necessary hold for the English, would have been only a cause of expense to the French, gave instructions for repairing and strengthening Calais, and appointed M. de Thermes to be governor. Guise had hoped to follow up his success, by proceeding either against Gravelines or St. Omer; but the severity of the winter prevented this: part of the soldiers, therefore, were licensed to go home, the rest distributed among the garrisons. As the spring advanced, M. de Thermes "espied well the negligence of his neighbours the Flemings, and that they made no new provision for the defence of their own country, more than whilst Calais was English, though by the loss thereof their frontiers were now become open for the French at all times." He drew together all the forces that could be spared from the garrisons in Artois, Picardy, and the Boulonnois, amounting, with those at Calais, to some 9000 foot and 1500 horse. The whole were not assembled till a fortnight later than the time appointed; but on the very day that the last body arrived, he marched from Calais with the intention of attacking Gravelines, knowing that it was weakly manned. Much was expected from this expedition, in which many distinguished officers held commands. But as the army were crossing the river Aa, a king's messenger arrived with despatches to the mareschal, apprising him that intelligence had been received of certain movements of the enemy on the side of Arras, which rendered it unsafe to leave the fortresses thus unprovided of men. It might be necessary to draw troops for them from his army: meantime, till the enemy's intention should be ascertained, he was not to engage in any enterprise from which he could not incontinently retreat if he were called for. This withheld him from laying siege to Gravelines, which was a strong place; but not to re-

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turn from a bootless expedition, he determined upon attempting Dunkirk, a place so poorly fortified, that it was judged incapable of holding out more than two days. The invaders established themselves on the second evening in the suburb, made their approaches during the night, and before noon had effected a breach: the garrison then proposed to surrender; but while they were treating, the French, who were little scrupulous at such times *, entered the town, and sacked it without mercy. Their officers made no attempt to restrain them; and after allowing them one day to pillage, and another for disposing as they could of the spoil, the mareschal left two companies there, thinking that the place might easily be so fortified as to be maintained; and then proceeded against Bergues. This town was evacuated at his approach; and as it was not thought feasible to hold it, it was burnt. The mareschal was at at this time seized with a fit of the gout, which attacked him by his own account in both feet, both knees, both arms, and the neck. Being, therefore, in no condition for active service, he assigned the command to M. de Villebon, a man noted for rapacity and cruelty even in that inhuman age; and the soldiers, to whom M. de Thermes had already permitted too much, were now allowed full licence.†

One evil consequence was presently perceived; the men who had enriched themselves thought of nothing but how to secure what they had gained: as the only means, therefore, of preventing their dispersion, M. de Senarpont was sent to escort the whole spoil to Calais: having done which, he returned to the camp before Gravelines. It was then taken into consideration how to employ the troops; some were for proceeding to Nieuport‡: the objection to this was, that success there would have no other effect than to enrich the soldiers, and so render them unserviceable. Villebon then proposed that

* Thuanus, l. xx. p. 569. Mareschal de Thermes in his narrative excuses his troops in a way that confirms the statement of Thuanus.

† Thuanus, 569. Coll. du Mém. 39. pp 339—344. M. de Thermes's narrative is printed in the notes to this volume, the editor having removed it thither from the Mémoires de Boivin de Villars.

‡ *Mend-Port* in the original; but Nieuport is certainly the place intended.

they should look at Gravelines again, till the despatches from the king, which were now daily expected, should arrive. Thither he proceeded, leaving the mareschal in his bed, and on the morrow sent him word, that, having reconnoitred it during the night, he found it could easily be breached, but that there were now 4000 men there. M. de Thermes was of opinion that it was not advisable with 6000 men to besiege so strong a garrison; and, suspecting probably that the Spaniards might have greater forces at hand, he concluded, when orders arrived, to fortify Dunkirk, and 2000 crowns were sent him for commencing the works, that this was no time for engaging in them. Herein he judged rightly; for Lamoral, count, or rather Graaf von Egmond, (well known in history for having a little before commanded in the great victory of St. Quentin, and better known for the death which he unjustly suffered ten years afterwards at Brussels,) collecting the garrisons of Bethune, St. Omer, Aire, and Bourbourg, in addition to his own disposable force, and some troops which the duke of Savoy had sent for the defence of Maubeuge, was hastening to intercept his retreat: and on the following day, the mareschal was informed, by a second despatch from Villebon, that the enemy had issued out of Gravelines in battle array, and that it was necessary for him to repair to the spot, and see what was to be done.

July 12.

There are some diseases which may be suspended, even in a severe stage, by circumstances that require great and immediate exertion. M. de Thermes was with the army early on the morrow; and having taken counsel with Villebon, Senarpont, and the other officers, it was determined that the baggage should be sent along the sands to Calais, under an escort of horse, as soon as the tide allowed; and that the army should follow the next morning, and take a position between that town and Gravelines, and there remain till they could ascertain the enemy's intention, in the hope of re-entering their territories if they should fall back towards Luxem-

bourg, where operations of greater magnitude were carrying on. Having thus resolved, they waited till the tide should serve, in no apprehension of immediate danger: the mareschal took his breakfast, mounted on horseback, and rode to reconnoitre the place, to which the enemy had advanced: he found that they had entered the camp, and had set fire to a house, so near to Villebon's quarters, that they might have been attacked there to great advantage, if any good order had been observed, and prompt measures taken; and when he was expediting the departure of the baggage, upon this information which made him more sensible of his insecurity, intelligence came that the enemy were crossing the water at a point near Gravelines, where it was fordable an hour earlier than at the place where he must pass. Upon this he countermanded the baggage; and, concluding that the intention was to interpose between him and Calais, for the purpose of cutting off his supplies, ordered Villebon immediately to cross with the cavalry, the old French troops, the legionaries, and the Germans, remaining himself with some 500 harquebussiers, and two companies of horse, to secure his rear against any sally from Gravelines. He was upon the bank of the river, in a place from whence he could see nothing of the enemy, and little of his own troops after they had crossed; but it was not long before he was informed that the enemy were in motion, and that it was advisable for him to join the main body with all speed.

Till this time the French appear to have been very ill informed of Egmond's strength, or of his intentions. That able commander had with him about 12,000 foot and 3500 horse, chiefly Belgians, but part were Germans, and part Spanish veterans, who were then esteemed, not undeservedly, the best troops in the world. M. de Thermes neither expected to find himself in the presence of such an enemy, nor thought they could have brought so many guns against him, his own artillery consisting only of six culverins and three falcons. The river,

however, protected his rear, and the sea, as he supposed, his right; the left he endeavoured to cover with his carriages, and placed his guns in front, leaving ample room for his cavalry, with his best troops to support them. One charge of the enemy they repelled, though not without considerable loss. Egmond's horse was killed under him as he led the charge, and M. de Thermes at one time thought the day had been his own. But at this time a fire was opened upon him from the sea by ten English ships, part of a large fleet, which, coming in sight of the action, had hastened thither in the hope of bearing a part in it. It was a most effectual part: the French were exposed to their fire without any means of resistance or of retreat; behind them was the town, "from whence came thick hail shot of artillery," and in front, and upon their flank, a superior enemy: their German troops gave way first, and they were totally defeated with great slaughter; they who escaped falling into the hands of the peasantry, who, in hope of this opportunity, had collected in great numbers, men and women, under cover of Egmond's army, and now exacted cruel vengeance for the outrages and cruelties which they had themselves endured. The number slain on the field is estimated by the French at 1500; a greater number fell by the hands of the peasantry: a few fugitives were all who escaped from captivity or death. The mareschal himself was made prisoner with Villebon, Senarpont, D'Annebault, and many other distinguished persons. Not a few ran into the sea, and perished there: the English saved some 200* from

* Quos cum in profundum mergere potuissent, ad ludibrium servatos in Britanniam quasi in triumphum ad reginam adducere maluerunt. Thuanus, 570. Holinshed, 118, 119. Coll. du Mém. 39. pp. 235—242. 338—353.

Guise has been accused of remaining inactive at this time, in hope that some disgrace might be brought upon M. de Thermes, against whom he bore an old hatred: of this there is neither proof nor probability. But that blame was believed to attach to some high quarter appears from what Rabutin says: — "M'est fort difficile de déduire et narrer certainement tout le faict de ceste adventure, tant pour n'y avoir esté present, que pour en estre les rapports si differens et partiaux, que la vérité s'y trouve le plus souvent masquée et dissimulée; et par ainsi, en la cuidant quelquefois ensuivre, on fait bien souvent tort et injure à qui l'honneur appartient, *oultre*

drowning, and carried them to England as living witnesses of this memorable defeat.

The ships which had borne so important a part in this action belonged to a fleet under the then high admiral Edward lord Clinton, who had been ordered to join Philip's admiral with all the queen's ships of war; that while the French king was engaged in the field, these combined fleets might "endamage some of his countries by way of invasion, and surprise some of his towns." Brest in particular, "as well because of its convenient situation for receiving succours and supplies from England, as because it was known not to be well garrisoned," was thought the best mark to "be shot at for the time."—"It is verily believed," says the chronicler, "that if the admirals of England and Flanders had been present there with their navies, as the said other few ships of England were, and upon this sudden had attempted Calais, with the aid of the countie Egmond, having his power present, the town of Calais might have been recovered again with as little difficulty, and haply in as short time, as it was before gained by the duke of Guise. But the said admirals, as it appeared, knew nothing thereof." They had, indeed, then formed a junction; but following their prescribed course, met at the place appointed, and sailing, with sevenscore ships of war, wind and weather favouring, appeared before the haven of Conquet one morning at break of day. Upon their arrival they sounded their trumpets, "as the manner was," and, with a thundering peal of great ordnance, roused the inhabitants of that unfortunate town. There they landed, in spite of any resistance that could be opposed to so unexpected an attack: soon mastering the town, they "put it to the saccage, with a great abbey, and many pretty towns and villages thereabout;" then marched some way into the country, burning and destroying, till, tired of devastation, and satisfied with booty, the English returned to the coast and re-em-

June 29.

que ce, que pour le jourd'huy à la trop tenir de près et declairer il n'y va que de la vie." P. 236.

barked. But the Flemings, who were more rapacious and less wary, ventured further inland, and being encountered by the power of the country, lost 400 or 500 men before they could regain their ships. That power, indeed, increased so rapidly, and the signs of preparation were so manifest, that, upon intelligence how the duc d'Estampes was near at hand with a force of some 20,000 men *, the commanders thought it not advisable to make any attempt upon Brest. "Yet, in hope to do some farther exploit, they lay hovering on the coast a while; till, after many attempts to land, finding every where more appearance of loss than of gain, they returned from an expedition, which, had it not been for the part that it had casually borne in the battle of Gravelines, would have been worse than useless.† That battle coming like an afterclap after their discomfiture ‡ at St. Quentins, dispirited the French as much as the conquest of the English pale had elated them, and disposed the king of France to treat for peace upon terms which he would otherwise have disdained.§

* Rabutin (255) says he had assembled from 7000 to 8000 horse, and from 12,000 to 15,000 foot; ce que j'ay bien voulu adjouster icy, he adds, pour faire paroître en combien d'endroits, tant sur terre que sur mer, la guerre se demenoit pour la querelle de ces deux princes, et combien aussi de divers estranges maux adviennent au pauvre peuple, par le moyen et occasion d'icelles guerres.

† During the negotiations the French contended that "Calais alone was not sufficient to recompense the damages done to them by the English, it being by their help that their towns were taken by the Spaniards; and many villages in Bretagne having been burnt and sacked by the English fleet, and an infinite mass of money spent to prohibit their landings." Camden's Elizabeth, p. 21.

It is remarkable that Ocland, who describes this expedition as if it had been a glorious one, dates it before the loss of Calais, in one of those Latin poems which were enjoined by authority to be read in all grammar schools: —

> Acta hæc sextili; gelido dein mense Decembri
> Deditur infelix, Gallo oppugnante, Caletum,
> (Infandum facinus!) tenuit quod turba senilis;
> Plures imbelles, miles fuit unus et alter,
> Intra urbem, et multos non sustinet unus et alter,
> Præsidium vetus hic neglectum; et fæmina princeps
> Consilio infando ventosi antistitis usa est.

Some contemporary hand has written in the margin of my copy opposite to this last line — the bishop of Winchester.

‡ Ce fut à peu près la second tome de la déroute de S. Quentin. Coll. des Mem. 39. p. 242. n.

§ Holinshed, 119. Rabutin, 251—255. Thuanus, 570. This battle, he says, "quæ acceptam superiore anno cladem, ex quâ Gallia paullatim recreari ceperat, geminato infortunio cumulavit, et regem a

During the negotiations queen Mary died. The loss of Calais is believed to have accelerated, if it did not cause, her death:—"When I am dead and opened," she said, "ye shall find Calais lying in my heart!" The restitution of that town was earnestly required by Philip, both as a point of honour because England had been drawn into the war for his interest, and as a point of policy, because it was for the benefit of the Netherlands that it should belong to England rather than France. But when Elizabeth declined his offer of marriage, which she could not have accepted without stigmatizing her mother, and bastardizing herself; and when she manifested her intention of supporting the protestant faith, the Spanish ministers relaxed in their demands. This encouraged the cardinal of Lorraine to assert, that the king of Spain, if he loved justice, ought to require that Calais should be delivered to his niece the queen of Scots, then dauphiness, in right of her just claim to be queen of England. The French, on their part, proposed, that the eldest daughter of the dauphiness should marry the eldest son of Elizabeth, and receive Calais for her dowry; and that that place should be retained by France till the marriage were effected between these two persons, — neither of whom then were in existence, nor, as it happened, ever afterwards. The English refused to entertain a proposal which was obviously intended only to work delay; and the Spaniards proposed that Calais should be put into their hands, till France and England could come to an agreement concerning it. To this neither France nor England would agree; Elizabeth then opened a separate negotiation with France, and soon concluded a peace, by the articles of which it was stipulated that France should retain Calais, and its appurtenances, for eight years: eight foreign merchants were bound for the payment of 500,000 crowns, as a penalty, if it were not restored at the expiration of that

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quæ illi hactenus irriserant, otii cupidine vel ad iniquas pacis condiciones flexit."

term, the queen's title to that crown continuing good after the payment of that sum. These conditions were ill taken by the people, who considered the loss of Calais a dishonour* only to be repaired by its restoration or recapture. Their indignation was diverted by bringing to trial lord Wentworth the governor, and the captains of the castle and of Risebank: the former was acquitted; the two latter found guilty of treason for abandoning their posts. But, as the sentence was passed in conformity to popular opinion, rather than to any actual demerit on their parts, the punishment was remitted.†

During queen Mary's reign the little island of Sarke was seized by the French: there was at that time only a poor hermitage there, with a little chapel appertaining to it, the isle itself serving as a common to the people of Guernsey for breeding their cattle; but when occupied by an enemy it could never have been recovered by strong hand, the cattle supplying them with abundant food, as well as the ground which they cultivated, and there being but one ascent to it, for nature has so walled it round with rocks, and rendered it every way so inaccessible, that it might be held, says sir Walter Raleigh, against the Great Turk. Some Netherlanders recovered it by stratagem: they anchored in the road with one ship of small burden, and requested leave to bury their owner there in hallowed ground, offering the French,

* The lord-keeper Bacon spoke thus concerning it at the opening of Elizabeth's first parliament:—"Could there have happened to this imperial crown a greater loss in honour, strength, and treasure, than to lose that place, I mean Calais, which was in the beginning so nobly won, and hath so long time, so honourably and politicly, in all ages and times, and against all attempts both foreign and near, both of forces and treasons, been defended and kept? Did not the keeping of this breed fear to our greatest enemies, and make our faint friends the more assured and loather to break? Yea, hath not the winning and keeping of this bred throughout Europe an honourable opinion and report of our English nation? Again, what one thing so much preserved and guarded our merchants, their traffic and intercourses, or hath been so great a help for the well-uttering of our chief commodities; or what so much as this hath kept a great part of our sea coast from spoiling and robbing? To be short, the loss of this is much greater than I am able to utter, and as yet, I suppose, is able to be understood by any. Marry, withal, I think there is no man so hard-hearted in thinking of it, but for the restoring of it would adventure lands, limbs, yea, the life." Parl. Hist. i. 640.

† Camden's Elizabeth (English trans. 4th edition), 21—25. Holinshed, 183, 184.

who were some thirty in number, a present of such commodities as they had on board, and engaging not to come ashore with any weapon, not even a knife; for upon this the garrison insisted. A coffin accordingly was lowered into the boat, some of the crew landed, and having been carefully searched, were allowed to draw the coffin up the rocks, which was done with great difficulty. Some of the French took the Flemish boat, and boarded the vessel, to receive the promised present: as soon as they were on board they were seized and secured. Meantime the Flemings who had landed carried the coffin into the chapel, shut the door, opened the coffin, armed themselves with the swords, targets, and harquebusses with which it was filled, and set upon the French: they ran to the cliff and called upon their comrades for help; but when they saw the boat returning with more Flemings, they yielded themselves and the place.*

Till this time the naval history of England had been confined to its own seas and the adjacent shores; but thenceforward a wider range was opened; distant enterprises were undertaken, and events of far greater moment in themselves, and in their consequences, are to be recorded. The individual agents, as well as the actions themselves, become more important; and the history may, from this period, more conveniently be continued in a series of the lives of those great commanders, who, serving their country, each in his generation, asserted, established, and maintained her maritime superiority, and thereby secured her independence, and with it those liberties, civil and religious, wherewith this nation has hitherto been above all nations conspicuously blessed.

* Raleigh's Hist. of the World, book iv. ch. 2. s. 18. Hakewell's Apology, 258. Heylin's Survey, 296. "Thus," says sir Walter, "a fox-tail doth sometimes help well to piece out the lion's skin that else would be too short." The archdeacon calls it a stratagem, "in his judgment matchable to any that ever yet he heard of." And Peter Heylin says it is "to be compared, if not preferred, unto any of the ancients, did not that fatal folly reprehended once by Tacitus still reign amongst us, *quod vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi*." It was, however, no new stratagem; nor ought any stratagem ever to be recorded with approbation in which the generosity or the humanity of an enemy has been abused.

CHARLES, SECOND LORD HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM,

AND FIRST EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

1536—1624.

Charles, eldest son of lord William Howard, and grandson of Thomas, second duke of Norfolk, was born in 1536. Margaret, his mother, was daughter of sir Thomas Gamage of Coity, in Glamorganshire. His father was one of the courtiers who accompanied king Henry to the Field of the Cloth of Gold, having (it is recorded) in his retinue eleven servants and two horsekeepers; he assisted as proxy for his brother, the duke and earl marshal, at the coronation of Anne Boleyn; and, after the conviction of his niece, queen Catherine Howard, was found guilty, with his lady, of misprision of treason, for not having revealed what they knew of her misconduct, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, with forfeiture of their goods, and of the profits of their lands during life. This sentence was soon remitted, in consideration of his services, "and it may be of his innocence." He attended on Henry at the siege of Boulogne; and, in the ensuing reign, was "one of the first favourers and furtherers, with his purse and countenance, of," what Fuller calls, "the strange and wonderful discovery of Russia," being one of those who were incorporated as merchant-adventurers to Moscovy; and, "at their own cost and charges, provided those ships to discover territories unknown, northwards, north-eastwards, and north-westwards." The expedition is memorable both in naval and commercial history: for the commander, sir Hugh Willoughby, after discovering Greenland, was frozen to death, with all his ship's company, in a haven on the

coast of Lapland; and the second in command, Richard Chancellor, who had fortunately parted company with him, entered the river of St. Nicholas, travelled to the court of the czar Ivan Basilowitz, delivered the king's letters to that sovereign, and obtained for the English the privilege of a free trade in any part of his dominions, being their first entrance into Russia. On the accession of queen Mary, he was created a peer of the realm, by the title of lord Howard of Effingham, and appointed high admiral of England and Wales, Ireland, Gascony, and Aquitaine; the queen, "in consideration of his fidelity, prudence, valour, and industry," constituting him "her lieutenant-general and chief commander of her whole fleet and royal army going to sea for the defence of her friends." In the discharge of this office, he kept the seas about three months; and having met with Philip, then prince of Asturias, escorted him to Southampton, and attended his marriage with the queen. At the commencement of the following reign, he was one of the persons empowered to conclude peace with France.

Under such a father Charles Howard was trained, serving under him by land and sea. He was about twenty-two years of age at the accession of Elizabeth; and his "most proper person" is said to have been one reason why that queen "(who, though she did not value a jewel *by*, valued it the more *for*, a fair case,) reflected so much upon him."* She sent him to France, after the death of Henry II., on an embassy of condolence and congratulation to the young king. He was elected one of the knights for his native county of Surrey in the parliament of 1562–3; and afterwards distinguished himself as general of the horse in quelling the rebellion of the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. In the ensuing year, he commanded ten ships of her majesty's "navy royal;" which, when the emperor Maximilian's daughter, Anne, sailed from Zeeland to marry her uncle, Philip II., were ordered to

A.D. 1559.

1569.

* Fuller.

convoy her through the British seas, as a singular testimony of the queen's respect for the house of Austria; and on this occasion, it is said, that he enforced the Spanish fleet* "to stoop gallant, and to veil their bonnets to the queen of England." It was probably at this time that he received the honour of knighthood. Having a second time been elected for Surrey, he was installed knight of the garter in 1574, and made lord chamberlain of the household,—an office which had been held by his father, who, dying in 1572–3, had bequeathed to him his collar of gold, and all his robes belonging to the order of the garter. Upon the death of the earl of Lincoln, he was raised to the office of lord high admiral of England; in which capacity he was called upon to perform a more serious service with regard to the Spaniards than when he required from them in peace a recognition of the queen's sovereignty in the English seas.

Elizabeth, when she succeeded in happy hour to the English throne, was far from entertaining any sentiments of ill will toward the king of Spain. "Whatsoever," saith Fox* the martyrologist, "can be recited touching the admirable working of God's present hand in defending and delivering any one person out of thraldom, never was there, since the memory of our fathers, any example to be showed, wherein the Lord's mighty power hath more admirably and blessedly showed itself, to the glory of his own name, to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the public felicity of this whole realm, than in the miraculous custody and out-scape of the then lady Elizabeth, in the strict time of queen Mary." To be near the throne was almost as perilous in the Plantagenet and Tudor families as in the Ottoman house; and in her case the danger was fearfully enhanced by a clear apprehension, on the part of the Romish hierarchy, that the reformed religion, which they were labouring to extirpate by fire and sword, would be re-established if Elizabeth should succeed to her sister.

* Vol. iii. 792.

Some of the laity, who in their station forwarded the persecution which has rendered queen Mary's reign for ever infamous, entered fully into this fear; and if Elizabeth was not brought to the scaffold, or made away with in confinement, it was not for want of wicked counsellors, or fitting keepers. One who was in authority is said to have declared in his place that there would never be "any quiet commonwealth in England unless her head were stricken from the shoulders *;" and "it would make a pitiful story to recite what examinations and rackings of poor men there were to find out that knife which should cut her throat." To the honour of the Spaniards, in that persecuting age, it ought never to be forgotten in this country, that their good offices were effectually interposed in her behalf, and that Philip "showed himself in that matter a very friend." Nor will it be regarded by an equitable mind as any impeachment of his motives, that the part which he took on this occasion was that of sound policy, if policy alone had influenced him. Let him have credit for justice in this instance, if not for humanity! He had some great qualities, and some good ones; and his worst actions must be imputed to a deluded conscience, acting under a mistaken sense of religious duty.

If Elizabeth had been at that time cut off, Mary Stuart, then dauphiness, would have become presumptive heiress to the crown of England; and her succession, by uniting England, Scotland, and Ireland to the crown of France, would have been, of all possible contingencies, the most injurious to the interests of Spain. That contingency became more probable upon queen Mary's death; and it seemed as if the French government, in pursuit of its ambitious hopes, was too impatient to wait for it, for Henri II. commanded that

* Fox, iii. 797. 794. 798. The queen's feelings toward her sister are truly stated by Ribadeneira, who had opportunity of knowing them well, and who may be believed when he had no motive for writing falsely; "una muger," he says, speaking of Elizabeth, "que ella nunca tuvo por hermana, sino por bastarda y enemiga suya, y de la religion catolica; y que siempre temio que la avia de arruynar y destruyr, y a quien por estas causas desseó y procuró excluyr de la succession del reyno." Hist. Eccl. de Inglaterra, l. ii. c. 19.

the dauphin and dauphiness should, in all public instruments, style themselves by the grace of God king and queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland.* The arms of England, quartered with those of Scotland, were set forth every where in their household stuff, and painted upon the walls, and wrought into the heralds' coats of arms; and by his agents at Rome, Henry ceased not to importune the pope that he would pronounce Elizabeth a heretic and illegitimate, and Mary of Scotland to be the lawful queen of England. But here both Philip and the emperor, earnestly, though closely, interfered. The question of illegitimacy no longer touched the pride, or affected the interests, of their house; and that of heresy even Spain and Austria could be contented to postpone, rather than allow the power of France to be aggrandised. Philip, therefore, ceased not secretly to oppose the practices of the French at the papal court, even when he refused to renew the league made of old between the kings of England and his forefathers, and sent back his insignia of the garter, whereby he seemed quite to renounce amity with the English. Still there remained the bond of mutual interest between Philip and Elizabeth, and not, it may be believed, without some sense of grateful remembrance on one part, and of personal respect on both. That bond was broken by the decease of Francis II., a few months after his succeeding to the throne; and no kindly feelings, in a man of Philip's temperament, could long withstand that bigotry which was in him a principle and passion, — a principle, indeed, to which, under a dreadful persuasion of duty, he would have made any sacrifice. The first animosity that he felt was excited by a trifling circumstance.

* Pollini. Istoria Eccles. della Revol. d'Inghilterra, p. 406. " In very deed from this title and arms, which through the persuasion of the Guises, Henry king of France had imposed upon the queen of Scots, being now in her tender age, flowed as from a fountain all the calamities wherein she was afterwards wrapt. For hereupon queen Elizabeth bare both enmity to the Guises, and secret grudge against her, which the subtile malice of men on both sides cherished, emulation growing betwixt them, and new occasions daily arising, in such sort that it could not be extinguished but by death. For a kingdom brooketh no companion; and majesty more heavily taketh injuries to heart." Camden, 34.

He requested, through his ambassador, that four persons, who had withdrawn themselves without license into his dominions, for religion's sake, might be exempted from the existing laws, and permitted to remain there.* One of these persons was grandmother to the condesa de Feria; another was an old lady who had been much in queen Mary's confidence, and used to distribute her private alms to those of her own sex; the other two were men "most devoted to the popish religion, and most dear to the Spaniard." A distinction might well have been made between these persons, especially in the first instance, where there existed so valid a plea. Elizabeth, however, replied, it was without example that such a licence of perpetual absence from their own country should be granted to women; and though it seemed in itself a matter of no moment, yet she thought it a thing not to be granted, "seeing the private benefit to the individuals would not be so great as the hurt to the community, when others should take courage by their example." The conde de Feria† resented this refusal as a private injury, though made upon public grounds: he caused a servant of the English ambassador to be seized by the inquisition, and "kindled the coals of the displeased king's mind, his wife in vain labouring to the contrary."‡

But though Philip became more and more estranged

* "For by the ancient laws of England it was provided, under pain of confiscation of goods and lands, that none but the great noblemen of the land and merchants should without the king's special licence depart the realm, nor abide in foreign countries beyond a time prefixed; and this, either for the recovery of their health in a hotter climate, or for the more plentiful adorning of their wits in the universities, or else to learn the discipline of the wars." Camden, 46.

† No doubt he felt that he had rendered himself personally obnoxious to Elizabeth, for refusing, though residing at London as Philip's representative, to be present at her coronation; which refusal, Ribadeneira says, he made como cavallero catolico y valeroso. For he enquired, "si se avian de guardar en la coronacion todas las ceremonias de los otros reyes Christianos conforme al uso de nuestra santa madre yglesia Romana; y como supiesse que avia de aver alguna alteracion, nunca se pudo acabar con el que assistiesse a la solennedad, ni estuviesse en la yglesia, ni en publico, ni encubierto, ni con los otros grandes del reyno, ni aparte en un tablado que le quisieron hazer, por no autorizar con su presencia aquel auto impio, y dar exemplo del recato y circunspecion que en semejantes cosas, por pequenas que parezcan, deven tener los catolicos para no contaminarse." l. 2. c. 22.

‡ Camden, 46.

from Elizabeth, that wise queen avoided all occasion for a breach with Spain; and when her ambassador, sir Thomas Chaloner, who when employed in Germany had found nothing but courtesy there, requested to be recalled, because his coffers had been searched, she admonished him, that an ambassador must take all things in good part, so as his prince's honour were not directly violated. Early, however, in her reign, "finding the realm greatly unfurnished of armour, munitions, and powder," she began to provide against war, that she "might the more quietly enjoy peace." Arms and weapons were purchased for her at Antwerp; but the Spaniards refused to allow the exportation, in policy, not with any hostile disposition at that time. They were procured, therefore, from Germany, at great cost, but so largely that the land was said never to have been so amply stored at any former time with "all kinds of convenient armour and weapons." "Very many pieces of great ordnance of brass and iron she cast; and God," says Camden, "as if he favoured what she undertook, discovered a most rich vein of pure and native brass, which had been long time neglected, near Keswick *, in Cumberland, which abundantly sufficed for that use, and afforded brass to other countries also. The stone, also, called *lapis calaminaris*, which is most necessary for the brass works, was now, by God's favour, first found in England, and that in abundance. And she, also, was the first that procured gunpowder to be made in England, that she might not both pray and pay for it too to her neighbours. The noblemen, too, and common people, with no less cheerful diligence, provided them arms every where; so as in noblemen's houses most complete armories were furnished. Musters and views of arms were often kept, and the youth trained to the science of war, and audacity of skirmish-

* In his Britannia Camden says, "that this place was formerly noted for mines, as appears by a certain charter of Edward IV." And Philemon Holland adds, that the miners "have here their smelting-house by Derwent side, which with his forcible stream and their ingenious inventions, serveth them in notable stead for easy bellows-works, hammer-works, forge-works, and saving of boards, not without admiration of those that behold it." These works, however, were on the side of the Greta, not the Derwent.

ing. In those days, also, the queen restrained, by a strict proclamation, the covetousness of merchants, which supplied munition for war to the emperor of Russia against the Polonians, and also to the enemies of Christendom."* For the better maintenance and increase of the navy, the free exportation of herrings and all other sea fish, in English bottoms, was allowed for four years, and so farther during pleasure: a partial exemption from impressment was granted to all fishermen; and for their encouragement and "the repairing of port towns and navigation," Wednesdays, as well as Saturdays, were ordered to be observed as fish-days, under penalty of a heavy fine; and this, it was stated, "was meant politicly, not for any superstition to be maintained in the choice of meats." † Her navy was, ere long, so well appointed, that she had no need (like her father and predecessors) to hire ships from Hamburgh, Lubec, Dantzic, Genoa, and Venice. "Foreigners named her the restorer of the glory of shipping, and the queen of the north sea." For the protection of the fleet she built Upnore Castle; and she increased the sailors' pay. "The wealthier inhabitants of the sea coast," says Camden, "in imitation of their princess, built ships of war, striving who should exceed; insomuch that the queen's navy, joined with her subjects' shipping, was, in short time, so puissant, that it was able to bring forth 20,000 fighting men for sea service." ‡

A. D. 1566.

The world in those days offered occupation enough to restless spirits. At one time many of the young English gentry, "who, according to their innate courage, thought themselves born to arms, not to idleness," repaired to Hungary, as volunteers against the Turks. A few years later they began to flock into the Low Countries, taking different sides, some for principle, others preferring that service in which best entertainment was to be found; the far greater number, however, engaged in the protestant cause, the strong feeling that had been excited by the Marian persecution in their

* Camden, 56. Holinshed, 202. † Eliz. c. 5. ‡ Camden, 56.

own country, being roused by the cruelty of the Spanish government under Alva,—a great but merciless man, who in his last illness accounted those actions which have entailed an everlasting reproach on his name among his good works! He had used his influence in Spain to restrain* the violence with which the English in that country were persecuted on the score of their religion,—either because that persecution was urged by a rival statesman, or because he deemed it politic at that time to keep up a friendly understanding with England, certainly not from any principle of toleration or feeling of compassion. But when governor of the Netherlands he clearly saw that in England lay the strength of that protestant cause, for the extirpation of which he was exerting all the energies of his strong head and obdurate heart. No direct or open offence had as yet been offered by either party, when some French privateers whom the prince of Condé had equipped, but who infested the seas as pirates, fell in with five Spanish vessels which with difficulty escaped, some getting into Falmouth, the others into Plymouth and the Southampton river. The French also put into an English port, waiting to renew the pursuit, whenever the Spaniards should depart from their asylum.

A. D. 1568.

The Spanish ambassador, being apprised of this, applied* to the queen: he informed her that there was money on board, for the payment of the king's troops in the Low Countries, and requested that she would protect it in her harbours, and grant it a safe convoy to Antwerp; or if advisable, let it be carried through the country to a port where it might be safely re-embarked. This the queen granted, and promised security both by sea and land. Even in harbour the freebooters would have mastered one of these ships, if they had not been beaten off by the English: and after this danger, the money was landed. No sooner had this been done than the Spanish resident began to fear that it was trusted to dangerous hands, and he imparted his suspicions to Alva.

* Camden, 61.

Meantime cardinal Chastillon, who was then in England, assured the queen that the money was not in fact the king of Spain's, but belonged to certain Genoese, from whom Alva intended to take it as a loan, against their will. The matter was then laid before the council, and it was debated whether this money, which was to be employed for the destruction of the protestants in the Low Countries, should not be borrowed by the queen, security being given; a practice then usual among princes, and to which Philip himself had sometimes resorted; and upon this the queen resolved, though most of her advisers were of a different opinion, and feared to exasperate a powerful king, who was already sufficiently incensed against the English. This resolution was communicated to the Spanish ambassador, with a solemn engagement to restore the money, if it should be proved to belong not to the merchants but to the king of Spain. Alva, on the very day that this communication was made to the resident, upon the first suspicion seized the goods of all the English in the Netherlands, and arrested the owners. He thought to intimidate a government, the strength of which had not been tried, and the foundations of which he was then working to undermine. But the courageous queen immediately made reprisals upon the ships and property belonging to the Netherlanders.*

Ships were now sent out to cruise against the English, not only from the Netherlands, but from the ports of Spain, where the English merchants and mariners were arrested by the inquisition, and condemned to the galleys, and their goods confiscated. When this was known in England, privateers were fitted out with the utmost activity; but they acted with such indiscriminating rapacity, that it became necessary to issue proclamations forbidding all men from purchasing any merchandise from sea rovers. Meantime Alva was prosecuting what

* Camden, 120. Pieter Bor, Oorsprongk, &c. der Nederlandsche Oorlogen, i. 272.

The property embargoed here is said to have far exceeded in value what was seized in the Netherlands, though Pieter Bor states the yearly value of our exports to those countries at more than twelve million crowns of gold, i. 69.

he hoped would prove a far more effectual plan of operations against Elizabeth, and in her person against the protestant religion, whereof she was the chief earthly support. The hostile disposition of Philip towards England was such, that he had reprimanded this minister not long before for having written as if he were well inclined towards what the king called that "lost and undone kingdom *;" for the inquisition had now obtained as much influence over the councils of that monarch, prudent as he was deemed, as over his conscience. The language of the popes was, that for the diseases which then afflicted Christendom fiery cauteries were required; that corrupt members must be cut off; that nothing was more cruel than to show mercy to the heretics; that all who fell into the hands of the true servants of the church ought immediately to be put to death, and that no king who suffered himself to be entreated in their favour could satisfy his Redeemer.† They acted themselves in the spirit of these exhortations. Pius V. laid a plot for restoring the Romish religion in England, by taking off Elizabeth ‡, and raising the queen of Scots to the throne. Her agents in this country conducted it with great dexterity, so as to engage in it some who were in Elizabeth's council, and in her favour as well as confidence, but who were now actuated by ambition, or by envy and hatred of their rivals, or by a dreadful persuasion of duty to the papal church; and all things seemed ripe when the dispute concerning the money which the English government had detained afforded Pius a favourable opportunity § for engaging Philip in the conspiracy. Philip lent an obedient ear. Alva was ordered to hold 3000 harquebussiers in readiness for embarkation: the marquis Vitelli was sent to London under the pretext of an embassy, but with the intent that he should take

* Turner's Elizabeth, 454. n. 2.

† Ib. 461. 480. n. 45. 481. n 56.

‡ Unâ quidem ex parte ipsi Scotorum reginæ—opem ferre, eamque omnino liberare; ex alterâ vero lapsam in Angliâ religionem renovare cogitabat, simul et illam malorum omnium sentinam, seu, ut appellabat ipse, flagitiorum servam *de medio tollere*, si minus posset ad sanitatem revocari. Gabutius, Vita B. Pii. V. Acta ii. SS. Mar. t. i. p. 658.

§ Oblatam occasionem haud contemnendam esse ratus. Ib.

the command of those troops as soon as they should have landed near London, where an understanding had been established with the Tower, at the palace, and among the queen's guards.*

These arrangements having been made, the pope fulminated that memorable bull, wherein, as one whom the Lord had made prince over all people and all kingdoms, to pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant, and build, he passed sentence of excommunication against Elizabeth, as being a heretic, and a favourer of heretics; pronounced that she was cut off from the unity of the body of Christ, and deprived of her pretended title to the kingdom; absolved her subjects from the oath of allegiance, and all manner of duty towards her, and included all who should obey her in the same sentence of anathema. It was thought imprudent to let this bull appear in Spain or France before it had been published in England, lest it should provoke the queen † to take more active measures against the Spaniards, and to appear decidedly in support of the French protestants. Its first appearance, therefore, was in London, where Felton nailed it upon the bishop of London's palace gate. But an earlier insurrection in the North had broken the strength and abated the hopes of the more eager papists; and secret information of the conspiracy was given to the English ministers by the French government ‡, which, though possessed with the most deadly hatred against the protestant cause, dreaded the union of England and Scotland under one sovereign, and the subjugation of this country to the influence, or possibly § to the power, of Spain. Thus did France, at this critical time, interpose in favour of Elizabeth

* Turner, 505. 509. † Acta Sanctorum, 658. Pollini, 458.

‡ Turner, 509. This most diligent historian, whose industry and integrity, and perfect fairness, entitle him always to be trusted, has shown that this information was given by Catherine de' Medicis, upon the cardinal of Lorraine's advice.

"—divino judicio permissum est (Gabutius says) ut de rerum serie totâ ad Elizabetham referretur à nonnullis, Galliæ regno politicè magis quam piè consulentibus, statuque jure (quod Pius diabolicum jus appellare solebat) atque vanâ suspicione implicitis, ne scilicet Angliâ receptâ, Galliarum regno potirentur Hispani."—*Acta SS.* 658.

§ "Verentes nimirum ne Anglia in Hispanorum caderet potestatem."

against the Spaniards, upon motives precisely similar to those by which Spain had before been led to interfere for her against the French; and the conspiracy was frustrated *, though its extent was not discovered, nor the magnitude of the danger as yet fully understood.

But though the treason had failed, and the duke of Norfolk, who was to have been the catholic husband of a second queen Mary, suffered death, the design was still pursued by the Spaniards and the pope: the latter spared no money for this pious purpose, as it was deemed at the Vatican, and declared that, were it necessary, for such an object he would expend the whole revenues of the apostolic see, and sell the chalices and the crosses, and even the very vestments.* That the blow might more surely be struck, the semblance of peace, if not of amity, was still maintained; not with sincerity, indeed, on Elizabeth's part; but on the part of Philip perfidiously. She did not restrain her subjects from those maritime adventures which nourished her naval strength; and he, in conformity to what was then the avowed doctrine of the Romish church, acted upon the principle that all means were justifiable whereby the interests of that church could be promoted. The Spanish ambassador complained that the rebellious Netherlanders were supplied with warlike stores from England, and harboured in the English ports; and, in consequence of his complaint, she ordered their ships of war to be de-

* Pollini imputes the delay to Alva's fear of bringing about a league between France and England in aid of the protestants in the Netherlands; and afterwards to his desire that his son D. Fadrique should command the expedition instead of Vitelli. The first fear he ascribes to the suggestion of the devil, and insinuates (falsely beyond all doubt) that, owing to his resentment at being disappointed in his views for his son, Elizabeth was made acquainted with the plot; whereby "hebbe finalmente quello che desiderava il diavolo." 471, 472.

Philip is asserted to have said to the legate, "nullam unquam hoc ipso vel preclarius vel sanctius compositum stratagema fuisse; neque vero majorem unquam visam esse conjuratorum sive concordiam, sive constantiam; siquidem per tot dies nihil unquam ab ipsis temere enuntiatum erat, magnaque res bene gerendæ atque opportuna sese offerebat occasio. Sed enim summus ille mundi Opifex, cujus nutu omnia gubernentur, seu mortalium peccatis id emerentibus, seu ut ex Angliâ vigente persecutione plures interim Christi martyres, uti deinceps factum est, in cœlum evolarent, nos alioqui pios conatus irritos esse permisit."—*Acta SS.* 659.

† Ibid.

tained, and those persons who were suspected of being implicated in the disturbances to leave the land. The most important events in public affairs, as well as in private life, often arise from circumstances which, when they occur, appear of little moment. The ships which the prince of Orange had commission, though they were expressly enjoined not to injure any but their enemies, had brought a scandal upon his cause*, by their piracies: insomuch that he had displaced the admiral and appointed the lord of Lumey, William Graave van der Marck, in his stead. That officer, acting either from timely apprehension or upon secret intimation, collected his ships, twenty-four in number, and sailed from England, entered the Maas, and by a sudden assault got possession of the Briel. This was the first town in Holland which was delivered from the Spaniards, and with this enterprise the naval power of the United Provinces commenced. The Water-Geusen, as the prince of Orange's sailors were called, had before this time deserved no better appellation; they were mere pirates, and by their ill name had done more injury to him, than by their ill deeds to his enemies. But after this adventure, which had been undertaken by the exhortation of a better man than Lumey †, one success followed another. They obtained ports, entered earnestly into the national cause, and acquired character as they gathered strength.‡ Within four months after the capture of the Briel, they were joined by so many adventurers, French and English, that a fleet of 150 sail § was collected at Flushing, and by this fleet the project of an intended invasion of England was defeated ||, at a time when no apprehension of any such danger was entertained there. For the duque del Medina Celi, coming to succeed Alva in

A. D. 1572.

* Pieter Bor, 289. 323.

† He was a mere freebooter, and most of his company little better; animi [illegible] itum ple- [illegible] Pieter Bor, 365.

‡ Strada, Dec. i. l. 7. p. 393.

|| Camden, 191.

the government, and bringing with him reinforcements and orders to put in execution the design of entering the Thames and surprising London, approached the coast of Flanders, supposing it to be still in possession of the Spaniards, and that they were masters as well of the sea as of the shores. But the admiral of Zeeland, Boudewijn Ewoutzoon, having intelligence of his approach, met and attacked him, and captured the far greater part of his richly laden fleet, the duque himself hardly escaping in a small vessel into Sluys.* Dispirited at the unexpected aspect of affairs on his arrival, he solicited and obtained his recall; and Alva seeing that the scheme of foreign invasion, as well as of domestic treason, had been frustrated, deemed it advisable to dissemble still further with England, and renewed the commercial intercourse which had then for four years been suspended. By mutual agreement it was opened for two years, and among the articles was a clause, that "if this mutual good understanding and close amity should happen for a time to be disturbed, yet should it in no wise be construed to be broken and dissolved. But if the matter could not be compounded by commissioners, within the time prescribed, the intercourse was to cease at the end of the two years."†

A. D. 1573.

The good faith and honour of the realm was upon this occasion well maintained. Elizabeth made a full agreement with the Genoese merchants, concerning the money which was the first declared cause of difference: she indemnified the English merchants for their losses in the Netherlands, out of the produce of the Netherlanders' goods which had been embargoed here; and the residue was restored to Alva, who made no such restitution to his subjects out of the English property that he had detained.‡ It had never been Elizabeth's wish that the Netherlands should throw off their allegiance to Philip. Not contemplating the possibility, which, at that time, was not contemplated by themselves, that they

* Pieter Bor, 323. T'Vervolgh der Chron. van de Nederlanden, p. 64.
† Camden, 191. ‡ Ibid.

could ever maintain themselves as an independent state, she knew that, as it regarded England, it was better they should be annexed to Spain than to France; and there was no other apparent alternative. Nor, if their independence had seemed feasible, could she, a sovereign princess, have desired that what she could not but deem a dangerous precedent should be established. As a protestant, she sympathised with their sufferings for religion's sake; as the queen of a free people, whose rights and privileges she respected as she ought, she acknowledged that they complained justly of the breach of their fundamental laws. But, on the other hand, Elizabeth felt that the cause of the Reformation had been disgraced and injured by the excesses the Netherlanders had committed under its name, by spoliation and havoc, and by cruelties which afforded the persecutors a recriminating plea, and which were not to be excused for having been exercised in retaliation. Moreover, she was sensible that, in such commotions, the foundations of civil society are loosened and endangered. These equitable views were fairly stated, both to the Spanish government and to the states. When Requesens sent an agent into England to obtain her permission for engaging ships and seamen there, to act against the Hollanders and Zeelanders, she refused, and prohibited English seamen from serving under foreign powers, and all men from setting out ships of war without her licence: "her ships and sailors," she said, "should not be hazarded in foreign quarrels." The agent then requested that she would not be displeased if those English whom he called exiles, but whom she termed rebels, served at sea against the Hollanders; but that she would allow them free access to any of her ports. Her answer was, "that she could in no wise allow them to serve under the Spaniards; and that to give the use of her ports to rebels and sworn enemies would be nothing short of madness." One other request the agent made, that the Low Country emigrants might be expelled from her

A. D. 1575.

dominions. To this she replied, "that her consenting to a like request, three years before, had proved most prejudicial to the Spanish affairs; for from thence that maritime power had arisen, against which the Spaniards now found it so difficult to contend." In proof that she had neither forgotten nor disregarded the ancient league with the house of Burgundy, she forbad the Netherlanders' ships of war, which were then in her havens, from leaving them; and would, by public proclamation, give orders, that none who were in arms against the Spaniards should be admitted into them, specifying by name the prince of Orange, and some fifty of the most conspicuous persons of his party; but she would not expel the fugitives who had taken shelter upon her shores, .. "poor simple people, who had forsaken their country and their inheritance for peace; and whom it were inhuman, and against the laws of hospitality, to deliver into the hands of their enemies."*

On the other hand, she endeavoured to dissuade the prince of Orange from inviting France to protect the States; and when she was entreated by Holland and Zeeland to take them into her own possession, or at least under her protection, as the person to whom, in defeasance of the Spanish line, the right of inheritance reverted (that line deriving it from a sister of Philippa of Hainault, Edward III.'s queen), she answered, that she esteemed nothing more glorious than to act with faith and honour as beseemeth a prince: in this case, she could not be satisfied that she could, consistently with honour and conscience, take those provinces under her protection, much less into her possession; but that she would earnestly endeavour to procure for them a happy peace. When Requesens died, and there were movements which indicated a disposition in the other states to recover their ancient liberties, she exhorted them to bend their minds to peace, desiring nothing so much as the restoration of order in their provinces,

* Camden, 20.

and good government. This, indeed, her subjects had great reason to desire; for, while many of those unquiet spirits, who followed war as a trade, engaged on either side, the English merchants, seeking their own gain by less exceptionable means, were plundered by both. They who were resident in Antwerp, when that city was sacked by the mutinous Spaniards, were not only spoiled of their goods, but compelled to pay a large ransom for their lives. And the Dutch and Zeeland ships of war, with the connivance, if not the sanction of the states, detained English ships, upon the plea that they imported provisions to their enemies the Dunkirkers, and that the trade from Flanders to Spain was now carried on in English bottoms, and boarded them, "smally to the profit of those to whom the ships and goods appertained," even when they were not boldly seized and carried away as prizes. A breach had nearly been made between the states and England, when the States blockaded the Scheldt, and prohibited the English from trading by that river with Antwerp: the merchants, finding themselves thus damnified, complained to their own government, reprisals took place, and the dispute was not adjusted till after much mutual injury and ill-will. The arrangement was facilitated by sending four vessels under the comptroller of the queen's ships, William Holstocke to scour the narrow seas from the North Foreland to Falmouth. In that course he recaptured fifteen merchantmen of sundry nations, took twenty ships and barks, "English, French, and Flemings, but all pirates, and in fashion of war;" and brought home 200 men prisoners for piracy, some thirty of whom were condemned to death.†

Such was the desire of Elizabeth, that the Low Countries should remain united to Spain, rather than be annexed to France, that when don John of Austria arrived as governor, she offered him her assistance, in case the states should call in the French. At the same

* Hollinshed, 329—332. 321—323. Camden, 214.

time, when, upon the importunate entreaties of the States, she assisted them with 20,000*l.*, it was upon condition that they should neither change their religion nor their prince, nor receive the French into the Netherlands, nor refuse a peace, if don John would condescend to reasonable conditions; and that, if such a peace were obtained, this money should go toward the payment of the Spanish soldiers, who were then in a state of mutiny because of their arrears.* But it was with no amicable intentions toward the queen of England, that don John took upon himself the command in the Netherlands. He had been bred up in ignorance that Charles V. was his father, but in a manner which qualified him for any rank to which he might be advanced; and Philip, after acknowledging him as his brother, though illegitimate, had placed him in circumstances the most favourable to an ambitious mind, by appointing him to the command of that fleet with which he achieved at Lepanto a naval victory more important and more famous than any preceding one in modern history. Having taken possession of Tunis, he conceived the hope of becoming the founder of a Christian kingdom, which might one day vie in power and prosperity with ancient Carthage †: and when Philip refused his consent to a project the difficulties of which were well understood by Spanish statesmen, don John, with the approbation of the pope, fixed upon England as the seat of the kingdom to which he imagined himself born. A marriage with the queen of Scots was to provide him with a claim to it, and possession was to be taken by force of arms. The English emigrants encouraged him in this design; and he represented to Philip that England might be conquered more easily than Zeeland, and urged him to grant him some port in the north of Spain from whence he might invade it with a fleet. Meantime he had privately communicated with the Guises; and this part of his negotiation was discovered and made known to Elizabeth by the prince of Orange, as

* Camden, 208. 210. 215 † Memorial de Ant. Perez. 298.

also that the intention was to occupy the Isle of Man, and that the aid of Mary's partisans in the south of Scotland was counted on, and assistance from Ireland, and an insurrection of the papists in the northern counties and in North Wales. When the truth of this information had been ascertained, Elizabeth entered into a league with the states.*

A. D. 1577.

That league she notified by an ambassador to the king of Spain, praying him and the governors of the Netherlands, to call to mind how often and how earnestly, and in how friendly an intent, she had long forewarned them of the evils impending over those countries; how carefully she had endeavoured to keep them within their duty to the king; how she had refused to take possession of the rich provinces which had been offered to her, and refused also to protect them; and how she had supplied them largely with money, when all things were in a most desperate and deplorable state, that they might not, for want thereof, be necessitated to call in another power, and break the design of peace which had lately been set on foot; whether these things were unbeseeming a Christian queen, who affected peace, and was most desirous to deserve well of her confederate the Spaniard, let the Spaniard himself and all Christian princes judge. And now that the wars might cease, and the Netherlanders again be at his devotion, she advised him to receive his afflicted people into former grace and favour, to restore their privileges, to observe the conditions of the last agreement, and to appoint them another governor of his own family: for no peace could be concluded or observed unless don John of Austria were removed, whom the states distrusted and hated, and whom she certainly knew, by his secret practices with the queen of Scots, to be her most mortal enemy, insomuch that she could expect nothing from the Netherlands but assured danger, so long as he was governor there. It was because she knew what great forces don John had raised, and how

* Camden, 220.

many auxiliary companies of French were ready to join him, that she, to preserve the Netherlands and Spain, and avert the danger from England, had now engaged to assist the states, they having promised on their part that they would continue in the king's obedience, and alter nothing in religion. If, however, the king would not listen to these representations, but was resolved to abrogate their rights and privileges, and reduce those miserable provinces into slavery, as if he had obtained possession of them by right of war, she in that case would not neglect to defend her neighbours, and provide for her own security.*

This was no palatable language to Philip; but that deep dissembler, feeling its force, and conscious of its truth, brooked it, and with simulated good-will besought her to continue her endeavours for bringing about a peace, and not hastily to credit false reports, nor believe that he attempted any thing unbecoming a prince in amity with her. How far he favoured the designs of don John, as conformable to his own catholic views, or discouraged them as tending more to the advantage of France than Spain, is uncertain.† But after the death

* Camden, 221

† Strada says that when the pope proposed a marriage between don John and the queen of Scots, "cum dotali Angliæ regno, ad cujus aggressionem honestior inde titulus armis Austriacis adderetur," Philip did not refuse his consent: "neque rex abnuebat, immò licet expeditionem magis quam ducem probaret," are his cautious words l. viii. p. 445.

There is a mystery about the fate of don John "Nam super natalium sortem Tunetense quondam regnum, tunc et Angliam sperasse manifestus, et cum Lotharingis in Gallicâ aulâ præpotentibus, clam Philippum, sociasse consilia, facile et res Belgicas in se versurus timebatur. Unde nec veneni suspicio abfuit, incertum tamen unde dati, quippe inventis sacerdotibus Romanæ professionis, qui suam in hoc operam patriæ imputarent. Anglos alii suspectabant, non ita dudum supplicio affectis, qui inde immissi in ipsum percussores dicebantur"—*Grotius*, p. 61.

The Englishmen here spoken of were Egremont Ratcliffe, and one Grey, the former son to the earl of Sussex by a second wife, a man of a turbulent spirit, and one of the chiefs of the northern rebellion. The English emigrants accused him of intending to assassinate don John, in whose army he was serving, and he and Grey were executed upon this. "The Spaniards," says Camden, "give out that Ratcliffe at his death voluntarily confessed he had been released from the Tower purposely to commit this murder, and encouraged to it by Walsingham with great promises. The English that were there present deny that he made any such confession, though the emigrants did what they could to extort it from him." p. 227. They were put to the torture after don John's death, by the prince of Parma, and executed upon the confession thus extorted. Strada, 557. If don John were poisoned, the cause of their execution is evident enough.

of that ambitious chief, whose story is more like a fiction of romance or tragedy than a tale of real life, the plots against Elizabeth were renewed. Pope Gregory XIII. and Philip, by whom the scheme was now concerted, had each their separate views: the latter saw that he could not reduce the Netherlands to subjection unless he were master of the sea, and that he could not be master of the sea till he should have subdued England. The pope, in the plenitude of his authority, was willing to confer upon him an apostolical title to that kingdom, giving Ireland at the same time to his own bastard son, whom he had made marchese de Vineola. The notorious adventurer Stukely undertook to conquer Ireland for this king-aspirant, and to burn the ships in the Thames. For this service he asked only 3000 men, while a larger force of Spaniards and Portugueze were to land in England. To show on what grounds he proceeded, this arch-traitor presented an instrument to Philip, "subscribed with the names of most of the Irish nobility, and of divers in England of good quality, ready to be at his devotion." In order to diminish the queen's means of naval defence, foreign merchants were employed to hire for distant

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This was an absurd charge, and could be believed only by that party spirit which will believe any thing. Common as the employment of assassins was in that age for party motives, the English government stands free from all reproach on that score, and if it had been less scrupulous, don John was no object of its jealousy or of its fear. There is a strange tale of his intriguing for a marriage with Elizabeth; this is said to have been seriously affirmed by letters from the Low Countries, and it has also been affirmed that Escovedo passed two months in England, endeavouring to bring about a negotiation for this end; but nothing that in the slightest degree supports this, appears in all that has come to light concerning Escovedo's fate, nor in any English documents. It is only not impossible, because don John seems to have loved danger and dissimulation for their own sakes. Instead of taking a safe course to the Netherlands, when he went to assume the government, he chose to pass through France in the disguise of a negro servant, "infuscato ore, vibrato capillo ac barbâ." Strada, dec. iv. l. 9. p. 460. The man who could choose such a disguise, would think no plot too extravagant in which he was to perform a conspicuous part.

Strada suspects that the story was devised by the prince of Orange, for the purpose of exasperating Philip against his brother. (p. 556) But the prince of Orange was a good man, engaged in a good cause, .. too good a man ever to have served it by wicked means. When he charged Philip, in his declaration, with the death of don Carlos, I am as confident that he believed the charge as I am convinced that the charge itself was an atrocious calumny.

voyages the greater part of those merchant ships which were built and furnished for sea-service.*

A. D. 1578. It is said that Sebastian of Portugal was intended for the command of this expedition. Such an undertaking would have well accorded with his temper, and with the principles wherewith his pernicious education had thoroughly imbued him. The massacre of St. Bartholomew's had been concerted with his knowledge: an armament, which he had prepared ostensibly against the Turks, was to have sailed in aid of the French government, if that massacre had failed; and when the news of its perpetration arrived, Lisbon was illuminated, and processions made, and a thanksgiving sermon preached by the most eloquent of the Spanish preachers, Frey Luiz de Granada; and an ambassador, was sent to congratulate Charles IX.† upon a crime — for which, as it regards himself, it may be hoped that the horror and remorse which speedily brought him to an untimely death may have atoned. But though Sebastian had proffered to the pope his utmost services against Mahometans and heretics, early impressions and national feeling led him to tread in the steps of his heroic ancestors, and endeavour to recover that dominion in Africa which they had unwisely abandoned for the sake of more distant and less tenable conquests. Though the pope offered him a consecrated banner as for a holy war, he was not to be diverted from his purpose; and Stukely, who arrived in the Tagus with 800 men, raised for the invasion of Ireland, was induced to postpone that purpose, and accompany Sebastian to Barbary. Stukely met his death there, . . in better company than he deserved to die in; for braver or nobler-minded men never fell in battle than some of those Portugueze who perished on that disastrous day. Whether Sebastian perished with them, is one of those secrets over which the grave has closed. But as his wilfulness had been the means of averting the intended

* Camden, 290. Turner, 574.
† Bayam, Portugal Cuidadoso y Lastimoso, 271, 272.

invasion of England, so by the consequences of his defeat and disappearance, Portugal became the immediate object of Philip's designs: his chief care was devoted to obtaining the succession for himself; and the forces which had been levied against Elizabeth were employed in establishing his ill-founded claim against a pretender whose pretensions were weaker than his own, and who had nothing to support them but the favour of the populace.

A few years earlier, Cecil, the greatest of English statesmen, thought that, if an enemy were at hand to assail the realm, it were a fearful thing to consider, because of its growing weakness, what the resistance might be. The cause of that weakness he perceived "in the queen's celibacy, and the want of a suitable successor, and the lack of foreign alliances; in the feebleness which long peace had induced, the weakness of the frontier, the ignorance of martial knowledge in the subjects, the lack of meet captains and trained soldiers, the rebellion which had then recently broken out in Ireland, the over-much boldness which the mildness of the queen's government had encouraged, the want of treasure, the excess of the ordinary charges, the poverty of the nobility and gentlemen of service (the wealth being in the meaner sort), the lack of mariners and munition, and the decay of morals and religion;" but the greatest danger he considered to be that which arose from "the determination of the two monarchies, next neighbours to England, to subvert not only their own subjects, but also all others refusing the tyranny of Rome, and their earnest desire to have the queen of Scots possess this throne of England."* One alone of these causes of danger had been remedied, the lack of mariners: a race of seamen such as no former times had equalled, and no after ones have surpassed, was then training in voyages of discovery and of mercantile adventure. For the predatory spirit by which the speculators at home, as well

* Memorial of the state of the realm, quoted by Turner, 513.

as the adventurers themselves, were influenced, some provocation had been given; and when Elizabeth, in answer to the demand made by the Spanish ambassador for restitution of the treasure which Drake had brought home from that voyage which has immortalised his name, told him that Drake should be forthcoming to answer according to law, if he were convicted by good evidence of having committed any thing against law or right; and that the property was set apart, in order that it might be restored to its just claimants; she reminded him that a greater sum than Drake had brought home she had been compelled to expend in putting down those rebellions which the Spaniards had raised and encouraged both in Ireland and England: and as to the complaint which he preferred against the English for sailing in the Indian Ocean, she answered, she could not persuade herself that the bishop of Rome's donation had conferred upon the kings of Spain any just title to the Indies: she acknowledged no prerogative in that bishop to lay any restriction upon princes who owed him no obedience; nor could she allow that he had any authority to enfeoff, as it were, the Spaniard in that new world, and invest him with the possession thereof. Neither was their only other claim to be admitted, which was no more than that they had touched here and there upon the coast, built huts there, and given names to a river or a cape. This donation of that which was another's, and this imaginary propriety, did not preclude other princes from trading to those countries, nor from transporting colonies (without breach of the law of nations), into those parts which were not inhabited by Spaniards (for prescription without possession was little worth); nor from navigating that vast ocean, seeing that the sea and air are common to all. A title to the ocean belonged not to any people or private persons, forasmuch as neither nature nor public custom warranted any possession thereof. She observed, also, that the Spaniards, by their hard dealing with the English, whom they had, contrary to the law of nations,

prohibited from commerce, had drawn upon themselves the mischiefs which they now complained of.*

The charge against the Spanish government, of having instigated rebellion, was incontestable. Stukely's preparations had not been secret, and an English fleet had been stationed on the Irish coast to intercept him; and that fleet had not long returned to England, in the belief that all present danger was past, before a body of Spaniards were landed in Ireland, in aid of the first Irish rebellion, into which the Romish religion entered as an exciting cause,.. a cause from whence have arisen the greatest evils that have afflicted, and are afflicting, and will long continue to afflict, that unhappy island. The Spaniards fortified themselves in Kerry; and when the lord deputy, Arthur lord Grey of Wilton, marched against them, and sent a trumpet "to demand who they were, what they had to do in Ireland, who sent them, and wherefore they had built a fort in queen Elizabeth's dominions, and withal to command them to depart with speed;" they answered, that they were sent "some from the most holy father the pope, and some from the king of Spain, to whom the pope had given Ireland, queen Elizabeth having, as a heretic, forfeited her title to it. They would, therefore, hold what they had gotten, and get more if they could." The confidence which seemed to themselves to justify this language soon failed them; they discovered too late the vanity of the promises which had been held out to them, the condition of the people with whom they were to act, and the dreadful character of the war which, in reliance upon their support, had been begun. They were besieged by land; the protecting squadron was remanded from England, and cut off their escape by sea: they were compelled to surrender at discretion, and were put to the sword; a measure which grieved Elizabeth, and which she disapproved, even when she admitted that the plea of stern necessity was strongly urged in its vindication.†

It was easy for Elizabeth to justify the views of her

* Camden, 255. † Ibid. 263.

government, and the peaceable course which it had hitherto pursued. Upon general principles, too, the right of her subjects to explore distant seas and countries might well be asserted and maintained, but she made no attempt to defend what was not strictly defensible, and a great part of the money which Drake had brought home was restored to the Spaniards *; and some of the chief persons belonging to the court refused to accept the money which he offered them, because they considered it to have been gained by piracy. This is said to have troubled him greatly, for he no doubt was of opinion that the conduct of the Spaniards in their American conquests warranted any hostile proceedings against them; and he had this to encourage him, that, while statesmen openly condemned his conduct, or only covertly protected him, "the common sort of people admired and extolled his actions, as deeming it no less honourable to have enlarged the bounds of the English name and glory, than of their empire." † Indeed, however desirous Elizabeth's ministers were of avoiding a war, they saw, what the people felt, that it must soon be forced upon them, and that overt acts on the part of Philip would soon follow the covert hostility which had long been carried on. The Jesuits, who were now the moving spirits in every conspiracy, were at that time (to use a word current in that age) completely *hispaniolized*, and this was not because the founder, and the architect, and the great thaumaturgic saint of their order were Spaniards, but because the chimerical hope was entertained of establishing an universal monarchy, of which Spain was to be the temporal and Rome the spiritual head. The important step of rendering Spain in all spiritual affairs absolutely subservient to Rome had been effected; and they who laboured to extend the Spanish dominion perceived that the succession of the Scottish line to the throne of

* It was paid to a certain Pedro Sebura, of whom Camden says, that he "pretended himself an agent for retrieving the gold and silver, though he had no letters of evidence or commission so to do; and that he "never repaid it to the right owners, but employed it against the queen, and converted it to the pay of the Spaniards in the Netherlands, as was at length, when it was too late, understood." P. 255.

† Fuller's Church History, 16th century, 180—182.

England must be unfavourable to the interests of Spain, because of Mary's connection with the Guises; that of her son would be detrimental to the Romish church, because he had been carefully and well educated in the principles of the protestant faith, and it was now evident that those principles were well rooted in his mind. They set up, therefore, a title of the king of Spain to the English crown, by which, preposterous as it was, not a few of the English papists were deluded.* Some of the queen's counsellors proposed to her, as a counter-project, that she should foment the difference which then existed between Philip and the pope concerning the kingdom of Naples, and assist Gregory not as pope but in his character of temporal prince with ships; thus, they argued, she might bring about a diversion of the Spanish forces, and prevent an invasion of her own dominions. It might have been a sufficient objection to any such proposal that the papal claim rested upon papal grounds, and was not maintainable as a political question. But Elizabeth saw it at once in the right point of view as a question of honour and of conscience: she refused to "entertain compliance with the pope in any capacity, or any conditions, as dishonourable to herself, and distasteful to the protestant princes; nor would she," says our good church-historian, "touch pitch in jest, for fear of being defiled in earnest." †

Part of the system which the hispaniolised faction pursued was to blacken the character of Elizabeth by every imaginable calumny, knowing that no calumnies can be too absurd for itching ears, and hearts that are

* This title, Fuller says (180), was "as much admired by their own party, as slighted by the queen and her loyal subjects. Indeed, it is easy for any indifferent herald so to devise a pedigree, as in some seeming probability to entitle any prince in Christendom to any principality in Christendom; but such will shrink on serious examination. Yea, I believe queen Elizabeth might pretend a better title to the kingdoms of Leon and Castille in Spain, as descended by the house of York, from Edmond earl of Cambridge, and his lady coheir to king Pedro, than any claim that the king of Spain could make out to the kingdom of England. However much mischief was done hereby, many papists paying their good wishes where they were not due, and defrauding the queen (their true creditor) of the allegiance belonging unto her."

† Fuller's Church History, 16th century, 180—182.

prepossessed with hatred for the person whom it is proposed to injure. Not contented with contending that she was of illegitimate birth, they affirmed that she was the offspring of an incestuous intercourse between Henry VIII. and his own daughter! They arraigned her of the vilest ingratitude towards Philip, to whose intercession, they asserted, she had been three times beholden for her life, when sentence of death had been passed against her for treason against her sister. They represented the punishment of convicted traitors, and the preventive measures against preparatory treason, which for self-preservation her government was compelled to pursue, in a religious persecution, against which the advocates and agents of the inquisition, — yea the very men who had kindled the fires in Smithfield, — filled Europe with their complaints. Books were set forth, wherein it was not contended, but dogmatically taught, that princes, when excommunicated for heresy, were to be deprived of kingdom and life. This doctrine received the sanction of the censorial authorities in Romish countries; and, by a libel which was secretly printed in England, the ladies of Elizabeth's household were exhorted to deal with her as Judith had dealt with Holofernes.* Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in England, was detected in a correspondence with those papists whose object it was, by foreign aid, to depose the queen and re-establish the Romish religion. He was ordered to depart the land, though he had rendered himself liable to the utmost severity of the law; and the queen was still so desirous of continuing at peace with Spain, that she sent the clerk of her council into that country, to inform the king of Spain for what just cause his minister had been sent away, and withal to assure him, lest, by having thus dismissed Mendoza, she "might seem to renounce the ancient amity that had subsisted between both kingdoms," that all amicable offices should still be shown by her, if Philip would send any other minister who should be desirous of preserving

* Camden, 307. 295.

friendship,—provided only that a like reception might be given to her ambassador. But this minister could not obtain a hearing.*

Meantime the prince of Orange, who had recovered after being desperately wounded by one assassin, perished by the hand of another; and the war in the Netherlands was vigorously prosecuted by the prince of Parma, a general whose martial genius had then never been equalled in modern warfare, and perhaps has never since been surpassed. Elizabeth, in her cautious policy, hesitated at entering into any direct alliance with the United States, till he had taken Antwerp, after one of the most memorable sieges in military history. She then hesitated no longer, lest the war should be brought home to her own doors; and concluded a treaty, whereby she contracted to aid the States with 5000 foot and 1000 horse during the war, the States engaging to repay the expense thus incurred, in the course of five years after the conclusion of a peace. Flushing, Rammakens, and the Briel were to be occupied by English troops as caution towns. The contracting parties were to enter into no league but on common consent; and ships for their mutual defence were to be equipped in equal numbers by both parties, at their common charge, and to be commanded by the admiral of England. The Zeelanders, in honour of this alliance, coined money with the arms of that province on one side, a lion rising out of the waves, and the motto *Luctor et emergo;* and on the other the arms of the several cities, with the motto, *Authore Deo, favente Reginâ.*† A declaration was published in the queen's name, "of the causes which had moved her to give aid to the defence of the people afflicted and oppressed in the Low Countries;" for "although kings and princes sovereign, it was said, were not bound to render account of their actions to any but to God, their only sovereign Lord, we are, notwithstanding this our prerogative, at this time specially moved to publish, not only unto our own natural

A. D. 1585.

* Camden, 296. † Ibid. 324.

loving subjects, but also to all others our neighbours, what our intention is at this time, and upon what just and reasonable grounds we are moved to give aid unto our next neighbours, the natural people of the Low Countries being, by long wars and persecutions of strange nations there, lamentably afflicted, and in present danger to be brought into a perpetual servitude."—

"First," said this declaration, "it is to be understood that there hath been, time out of mind, even by the natural situation of those Low Countries and our realm of England, one directly opposite to the other, and by reason of the ready crossing of the seas, and multitudes of large and commodious havens respectively on both sides, a continual traffic and commerce betwixt the people of England and the natural people of those countries, and so continued in all ancient times, when the several provinces thereof, as Flanders, Holland, and Zeeland, and other countries to them adjoining, were possessed by several lords, and not united together, as of late years they have been by intermarriages, and at length by concurrence of many and sundry titles, reduced to be under the government of those lords that succeeded to the dukedom of Burgundy: whereby there had been many special confederations, not only betwixt the kings of England and the lords of the said countries, but also betwixt the very natural subjects of both, as the prelates, noblemen, citizens, burgesses, and other commonalties of the great cities and port towns of either country reciprocally, by special obligations and stipulations under their seals interchangeably, for maintenance of commerce and intercourse of merchants, and also of special mutual amity to be observed; and very express provision for mutual favours, affections, and all other friendly offices to be used and prosecuted by the people of the one nation towards the other. By which mutual bonds there hath continued perpetual union of the people's hearts together; and so, by way of continual intercourse, from age to age, the same mutual love hath been inviolably kept and exer-

cised, as it had been by the will of nature, and never utterly dissolved, nor yet for any long time discontinued, howsoever the kings and the lords of the countries sometimes (though very rarely) have been at difference, by sinister means of some other princes, their neighbours, envying the felicity of these two countries. And so had the same mutual and natural concourse and commerce been continued in many ages, far above the like example of any other countries in Christendom, to the honour and strength of the princes, and to the singular great benefit and enriching of their people, until of late years the king of Spain had been (as it is to be thought) counselled by his counsellors of Spain to appoint Spaniards, foreigners, and strangers of strange blood, — men more exercised in war than in peaceful government, and some of them notably delighted in blood, as had appeared by their actions,— to be the chiefest governors of all his said Low Countries, contrary to the ancient laws and customs thereof. The Spaniards, having no natural regard to the maintenance of those people in their ancient manner of peaceable living, but being exalted to absolute government by ambition, and for private lucre, have violently broken the ancient laws and liberties, and, in a tyrannous sort, have banished, killed, and destroyed, without order of law, many of the most ancient and principal persons of the natural nobility, that were most worthy of government. And howsoever, in the beginning of these cruel persecutions, the pretence thereof was for maintenance of Romish religion, yet they spared not to deprive very many catholics and ecclesiastical persons of their franchises and privileges; and of the chiefest that were executed of the nobility, none was in the whole country more affected to that religion than was the noble and valiant county of Egmond, the very glory of that country, who neither for his singular victories in the service of the king of Spain can be forgotten in true histories, nor yet for the cruelty used for his destruction, be but for ever lamented in the hearts of the people of that country."

The declaration proceeded to show how the horrible calamities thus brought upon the Low Countries had moved to compassion even such of their neighbours as had been at frequent discord with them in former times, insomuch that the French king thought, very many years ago, to have taken them under his protection, had not (as the deputies of the States were answered) the "complots of the house of Guise, stirred and maintained by money out of Spain, disturbed the peace of France, and thereby urged the king to forbear from the resolution he had made, not to aid those oppressed people of the Low Countries against the Spaniards, but also to have accepted them as his own subjects. But, in very truth, however they were comforted and kept in hope by the French king, who had oftentimes solicited us, as queen of England, both by message and writing, to be careful of their defence; yet, in respect that they were more strictly knit in ancient friendship to this realm than to any other country, we are sure that they could be pitied of none with more cause of grief generally than of our subjects, being their most ancient allies and familiar neighbours; and that in such manner, that this our realm of England and those countries have been of long time resembled and termed as man and wife. For these urgent causes, and many others, we have by many friendly messages and ambassadors, by many letters and writings, to the said king of Spain, our brother and ally, declared our compassion of this so evil and cruel usage of his natural and loyal people. And furthermore, as a good loving sister to him, and a natural good neighbour to his Low Countries, we have often, and often again, most friendly warned him, that if he did not, by his wisdom and princely clemency, restrain the tyranny of his governors, and cruelty of his men of war, we feared that the people should be forced, for safety of their lives, and for continuance of their native country in the former state of their liberties, to seek the protection of some other foreign lord, or rather to yield themselves wholly to the sovereignty of some mighty

prince; as by the ancient laws, and by special privileges granted by some of the lords and dukes to the people, they do pretend and affirm, that in such cases of general injustice, and upon such violent breaking of their privileges, they are free from their former homage, and at liberty to make choice of any other prince to be their head. By some such alteration, as stories testify, Philip, the duke of Burgundy, came to his title, from which the king of Spain's interest is derived. And now, to stay them from yielding themselves in any like sort to the sovereignty of any other strange prince, we yielded some years past to the importunate requests of some of the greatest persons of degree and most obedient subjects to the king, and granted them prests of money, only to continue them as his subjects, and to maintain themselves in their just defence against the violence of the Spaniards, their oppressors; and during the time of that our aid thus given, and their stay in their obedience to the king of Spain, we did freely acquaint the same king with our actions, and did still continue our friendly advices to him, to move him to command his governors and men of war not to use such insolent cruelties against his people as might make them to despair of his favour, and seek some other lord.

"For we did manifestly see if the nation of Spain should make a conquest of those countries, as was and yet is apparently intended, and plant themselves there as they have done in Naples and other countries, adding thereto the late examples of the hostile enterprise of a power of Spaniards, sent by the king of Spain and the pope into our realm of Ireland, with an intent, confessed by the captains, that their number was sent to seize upon some strength there, and with other great forces to pursue a conquest thereof, we did manifestly see in what danger our ourself, country, and people might shortly be, if in convenient time we did not speedily otherwise regard to prevent or stay the same." The queen then complained, that notwithstanding her often requests and advices, the king's governors in the

Low Countries increased their cruelties toward his own afflicted people, and his officers in Spain offered daily greater injuries to the English resorting thither for traffic: yea, her express messengers with her letters were not permitted to come to the king's presence, — "a matter very strange, and against the law of nations." She contrasted the unworthy treatment of her ambassadors in Spain, with her conduct towards the Spanish ambassadors, and especially Bernardino de Mendoza; —"one," said she, "whom we did accept and use with great favour a long time, as was seen in our court, and we think cannot be denied by himself: but yet of late years (we know not by what direction), we found him to be a secret great favourer to sundry our evil-disposed and seditious subjects, not only to such as lurked in our realm, but also to such as fled the same, being notoriously condemned as open rebels and traitors, with whom, by his letters, messages, and secret counsels, he did in the end devise how, with a power of men, partly to come out of Spain, partly out of the Low Countries, (whereof he gave them great comfort in the king's name,) an invasion might be made into our realm; setting down in writing the manner how the same should be done, with what number of men and ships, and upon what coasts, ports, and places of our realm, and who the persons should be, therein of no small account, that should favour this invasion, and take part with the invaders: facts which have been most clearly proved, and confessed by such as were in that confederary with him; yet when he had been charged with these practices, and it had been made patent to him how and by whom, with many other circumstances we knew it, he was caused, in very gentle sort, to depart out of our realm, the rather for his own safety, as one in very deed mortally hated of our people."

The declaration proceeded to state what the queen had done for delivering Scotland from the servitude into which the house of Guise meant to have brought it, and that by her means only it had been restored to its an-

cient freedom, and was so possessed by the present king, whereby Scotland had remained in better amity and peace with England than could be remembered for many hundred years before. It concluded by saying how, upon the continued and lamentable requests of the states of Holland, Zeeland, Gueldres, and other provinces with them united, the queen had, with good advice, and after long deliberation, determined to aid them, "only to defend them and their towns from sacking and desolation, and to procure them safety, to the honour of God, whom they desire to serve sincerely as Christian people, according to his holy word, and to enjoy their ancient liberties for them and their posterity, and so consequently to preserve the lawful and ancient commerce betwixt those countries and ours. And so," said this magnanimous queen, "we hope our intentions herein, and our subsequent actions, will be, by God's favour, honourably interpreted of all persons (saving of the oppressors themselves and their partisans), in that we mean not hereby, either for ambition or malice, the two roots of all injustice, to make any particular profit hereof to ourself or to our people; only desiring at this time to obtain, by God's favour, for these countries a deliverance of them from war by the Spaniards and foreigners, a restitution of their ancient liberties and government by some Christian peace, and thereby a surety for ourselves and our realm to be free from invading neighbours, and our people to enjoy their lawful intercourse of friendship and merchandise, according to the ancient usage and treaties of intercourse made betwixt our progenitors and the lords and earls of those countries, and betwixt our people and theirs. And though our farther intention also is, or may be, to take into our guard some few towns upon the sea-side, next opposite to our realm, which otherwise might be in danger to be taken by the strangers, enemies of the country; yet therein considering we have no meaning at this time to take and retain the same to our own proper use, we hope all persons will think it agreeable with good reason and princely policy

that we should have the guard and use of some such places, for sure access and recess of our people and soldiers in safety, and for furniture of them with victuals and other things requisite and necessary, whilst it shall be needful for them to continue in those countries, for the aiding thereof in these their great calamities, miseries, and imminent danger; and until the countries may be delivered of such strange forces as do now oppress them, and recover their ancient lawful liberties and manner of government, to live in peace as they have heretofore done, and do now most earnestly in lamentable manner desire to do, which are the very only true ends of all our actions now intended."

At the conclusion, the queen alluded to the "cankered conceits," uttered by malicious tongues, and blasphemous reports, in such infamous libels, that in no age had the devil employed more spirits replenished with all wickedness to utter his rage. An appendix was added to this declaration, in consequence of an account of the siege of Antwerp, printed at Milan, in which, said she, "we found ourselves most maliciously charged with two notable crimes, no less hateful to the world than most repugnant and contrary to our own natural inclination. The one with ingratitude towards the king of Spain, who, as the author saith, saved our life, being justly by sentence adjudged to death in our sister's time; the other, that there were persons corrupted with great promises, and that with our intelligence, to take away the prince of Parma's life. Now, knowing how men are maliciously bent, in this declining age of the world, both to judge, speak, and write maliciously, falsely, and unreverently of princes, and holding nothing so dear unto us as the conservation of our reputation and honour to be blameless, we found it very expedient not to suffer two such horrible imputations to pass under silence. And for answer of the first point, touching our ingratitude towards the king of Spain, as we do most willingly acknowledge that we were beholding unto him in the time of our late sister, which we then did acknowledge very thank-

fully, and have sought many ways since in like sort to requite, so do we utterly deny as a most manifest untruth, that ever he was the cause of the saving of our life, as a person by course of justice sentenced unto death, who ever carried ourself towards our said sister in such dutiful sort, as our loyalty was never called in question, much less any sentence of death,* pronounced against us: a matter such as in respect of the ordinary course of proceeding, as by process in law, by place of trial, by the judge that should pronounce such sentence, and other necessary circumstances in like cases usual, especially against one of our quality, as it could not but have been publicly known, if any such thing had been put in execution. This, then, being true, we leave to the world to judge how maliciously and injuriously the author of the said pamphlet dealeth with us in charging us with a vice that of all others we do most hate and abhor. And by the manifest untruth of this imputation, men, not transported with passion, may easily discern what untruth is contained in the second, by which we are charged with an intended attempt against the life of the prince of Parma. He is one of whom we have ever had an honourable conceit, in respect of those singular rare parts we always have noted in him, which hath won unto him as great a reputation as any man this day living carrieth of his degree and quality; and so have we al-

* This accusation was not made by pamphleteers and mere libellers only. Herrera, the royal chronicler, in his Historia General del Mundo for the first seventeen years of Philip's reign, asserts that Elizabeth was on three several occasions condemned to death for treason against her sister, and as often pardoned through the king's intercession: "Y el librarla los Españoles con tanto cuydado de la muerte, dezian los Franceses que se hazia porque no sucediesse en la corona de Inglaterra Maria reyna de Escocia, casada con Francisco delfin de Francia; y los Españoles dezian contra los Franceses que procuravan de engañar a Ysabel, metiendola en estos trabajos, para que muriendo por ellos, quedasse desembarazada la sucession a la reyna de Escocia. Let. vi. c. 13. p. 399. Herrera probably believed what he asserted, if what Strada affirms be true, that the statement was made by Philip himself! That king, the jesuit says, was incensed against Elizabeth, "tanto quidem acriore sensu, quanto pro beneficiis, proque vitâ ipsâ, quam ei bis terque se dedisse rex affirmabat, dum conspirationum insimulatam, è carcere, capitalique judicio liberaverat; pro his aliisque promeritis alias super alias accepisse se indesinenter injurias agnoscebat." P. 596. The chronicler adds that Calais was betrayed, with Elizabeth's consent, she hoping thereby to break her sister's heart, "para acabar con estos enojos tanto mas presto la vida de su hermana."

ways delivered out by speech unto the world, when any occasion hath been offered to make mention of him. And touching the prosecution, committed unto him, of the wars in the Low Countries, as all men of judgment know, that the taking away of his life carrieth no likelihood that the same shall work any end of the said prosecution, so is it manifestly known that no man hath dealt more honourably than the said prince, either in duly observing of his promise, or extending grace and mercy where merit and desert hath craved the same; and, therefore, no greater impiety by any could be wrought, nor nothing more prejudicial to ourself (so long as the king shall continue the prosecution of the cause in that forcible sort he now doth), than to be an instrument to take him away from thence by such violent means, that hath dealt in a more honourable and gracious sort in the charge committed unto him, than any other that hath ever gone before him, or is likely to succeed after him. Now, therefore, how unlikely it is, that we should be either author, or any way assenting to so horrible a fact, we refer to the judgment of such as look into causes, not with the eyes of their affection, but do measure and weigh things according to honour and reason. The best course, therefore, that both we and all other princes can hold, in this unfortunate age, that overfloweth with malignant spirits, is, through the grace and goodness of Almighty God, to direct our course in such sort, as they may rather show their wills through malice, than with just cause by desert to say ill either by speech or writing; assuring ourselves, that besides the punishment that such wicked libellers shall receive at the hands of the Almighty for depraving of princes and lawful magistrates, who are God's ministers, they both are and always shall be thought by all good men unworthy to live upon the face of the earth."*

When Elizabeth thus openly allied herself with the United States, which was, in fact, declaring war against Spain, the other Christian princes "admired such manly

* Hollinshed, 621—630.

fortitude in a woman; and the king of Sweden said, she had taken the crown from her head and adventured it upon the chance of war." * But no new or additional danger was drawn upon her by this declaration. The plan of invasion which Sebastian's expedition to Africa had frustrated, and which had been suspended in consequence of the subsequent events in Portugal, had been resumed two years before this treaty with the States was concluded. The prince of Parma had at that time been ordered to obtain accurate information respecting the English ports, and their means of defence: the Milanese engineer, Battista Piatti, who constructed the bridge over the Scheldt during the siege of Antwerp, was one of the persons thus employed; he had drawn up a report accordingly, and proceeded to Spain to give what farther information might be required.† A negotiation pending with the queen of Scots, for her release, upon her engagement that her agents should attempt nothing to the injury of Elizabeth or of England was broken off, partly, says Camden, because of certain fears cast in the way by those who knew how to increase suspicions between women already displeased with one another; but chiefly in consequence of certain papers, which a Scotch jesuit, on his passage to Scotland, when captured by some Netherlanders, tore in pieces, and cast overboard: the wind blew them back into the ship, and from these fragments the designs of the pope, the Spaniard, and the Guises, for invading England, were discovered.‡ The detection of a nearer treason led to the death of the queen of Scots, an act by which Elizabeth, if she lessened her own immediate danger and that of the nation, (which may well be doubted), brought upon herself an ineffaceable stain §, purchasing self-preservation at a

* Camden, 321. † Strada, 526. ‡ Camden, 299.

§ Parry in a letter to the queen, after his condemnation, says, "The queen of Scots is your prisoner. Let her be honourably entreated, but yet surely guarded. She may do you good; she will do you no harm, if the fault be not English. It importeth you much; so long as it is well with her, it is safe with you. When she is in fear, you are not without peril. Cherish, and love her. She is of your blood, and your undoubted heir in succession. It is so taken abroad, and will be found so at home." — *Strype's Annal. App. No. 46.*

greater price than it is worth. But it is not upon Elizabeth that the blackest stigma should be affixed. The English parliament called upon her for blood. Not a voice in either house was raised against the popular cry. The commons came to a resolution, "that no other way, device, or means whatsoever could possibly be found or imagined, that safety could in any wise be had so long as the queen of Scots were living.* — To spare her," they said, "were nothing else but to spill the people, who would take all impunity in this case very much to heart, and would not think themselves discharged of their oath of association, unless she were punished according to her deserts. And they called upon Elizabeth to remember the fearful examples of God's vengeance upon king Saul for sparing Agag, and upon king Ahab for sparing Benhadad." † To such purposes can public feeling be directed, and Scripture perverted! Some of those great personages who had corresponded with the royal prisoner, and were implicated more or less in the treasonable practices which under her name and with her concurrence were continually carried on, began now to act as her deadly enemies, thereby the better to conceal their own guilt.‡ The Spanish party thrust her forward to her own danger, that by her destruction the way might be cleared for the pretended title of the king of Spain.§ They had persuaded themselves that nothing but an absolute conquest of the island, like that by William of Normandy, could establish a catholic prince here, and reinstate the Romish religion in its full powers. And when the French king, Henry III.‖, sent a special ambassador publicly to speak in the queen of Scots behalf, that ambassador was charged with secret instructions to press upon Elizabeth the necessity of putting her to death as

* Parliamentary History, 844. † Camden, 363.
‡ Ibid. 364. § Ibid. 331.
‖ Parry says of him, in the remarkable letter above quoted, "in which he speaks with the freedom as well as the sincerity of a dying man, the French king *is French*; you know that well enough. You will find him occupied when he should do you good. He will not lose a pilgrimage to save your crown."

an enemy, who, if she succeeded to the English throne, would, through her connection with the Guises, be as dangerous to him as she now was to the queen of England! *

The death of Mary may have preserved England from the religious struggle which would have ensued upon her succession to the throne, but it delivered Elizabeth from only one, and that the weakest of her enemies; and it exposed her to a charge of injustice and cruelty, which, being itself well founded, obtained belief for any other accusation, however extravagantly false. It was not Philip alone who prepared for making war upon her with a feeling of personal hatred: throughout Romish Christendom she was represented as a monster of iniquity; that representation was assiduously set forth not only in ephemeral libels, but in histories, in dramas, in poems, and in hawkers' pamphlets †; and when the king of Spain equipped an armament for the invasion of England, volunteers entered it with a passionate persuasion that they were about to bear a part in a holy war against the wickedest and most inhuman of tyrants. The pope exhorted Philip to engage in this great enterprize for the sake of the Roman catholic and apostolic church, which could not be more effectually nor more meritoriously extended than by the conquest of England; so should he avenge his own private and public wrongs; so should he indeed prove himself most worthy of the glorious title of Most Catholic King. And he promised, as soon as his troops should have set foot in that island, to supply him with a million of crowns of gold ‡ towards the expenses of the expedition. Opportunity could never be more favourable: he had concluded a truce with the Turk; the French were em-

* Turner, 643. Bayle's critique on Malmbourg's Hist. of Calvinism there quoted.

† They are circulated to this day in Spain and Portugal.

‡ The money, however, was not forthcoming. Strada, when he relates the offer, adds, "quod magis Xysti magnanimitatem ostendit, quam belli subsidium fuit: quippe, ut partem hujus summæ aliquam pontifex elargiretur ante præfinitum hoc tempus, nullis adduci potuit aut Hispani legati, aut Cæsii comitis à Parmensi duce propterea Romam missi, persuasionibus." P. 527.

broiled in civil war, and could offer to him no opposition. England was without forts or defences: long peace had left it unprovided of commanders or soldiers; and it was full of catholics, who would joyfully flock to his standard. The conquest of Portugal had not been easier than that of England would be found; and when England was once conquered, the Low Countries would presently be reduced to obedience.

Such exhortations accorded with the ambition, the passions, and the rooted principles of the king of Spain. The undertaking was resolved on; and while preparations were making upon the most formidable scale, it was deliberated on what plan to proceed. Sir William Stanley, the most noted of those persons who for conscience-sake betrayed their trust, deserted to the enemy, and bore arms against this country, advised that Ireland should be the first point of attack. He knew that country well, having served in it fifteen years; and if Waterford, he said, were once taken and fortified, the Spaniards might from thence reduce the one island and invade the other. Piatti was of opinion that it were better to begin with Scotland, where he was led to believe the king might be induced to join with them for the sake of revenging his mother's death. Having established a footing there, he thought the Isle of Wight should next be occupied. A noble inhabitant of that island had promised the prince of Parma to show him a place, known only to himself, by which ships could approach, and in four-and-twenty hours obtain possession of it; and he laid before Philip a plan of the island, and a memoir concerning it, which had been drawn up at the prince of Parma's desire. The marquis of Santa Cruz, who was to be commander in chief, objected to neither of these plans, but he urged the necessity of perpending all things well before an expedition should be sent out, in which Spain put forth all her strength: and he advised that a port should previously be secured, either in Ireland, or, which he thought more desirable, in Holland or Zeeland. The enterprize might safely be

undertaken, if the fleet were thus rendered secure on that side. This was the opinion which the prince of Parma supported in his letters. He represented the danger of venturing such a fleet in the British seas without providing a harbour into which it might retreat; and Flushing, he said, was the only one in the Low Countries capacious enough for so great a force. Now, that he had taken Sluys, Flushing might more easily be captured; and he strongly advised that the capture of this place should be effected before the armada ventured into those seas. It was a conquest which, with God's help, he undertook to make. But, in thus advising, the prince had a farther object; he was not willing that Spain should divert its attention from the Low Countries, which he had no doubt of subjugating, if only a part of the force designed for England were employed for that purpose. Those countries once subdued, England would be open to invasion; and of this, which he saw clearly himself, he hoped to convince the king, if he could first persuade him to let the siege of Flushing be undertaken.*

But Philip would hear of no delay. The troubles in France, and the treaty with the Turks, allowed him at this time to direct his whole attention towards England: it was even less costly to punish that country by an invasion, than to defend the coasts of his own empire against her piratical enterprises; and he felt himself bound to exact vengeance for the death of the queen of Scots, in which cause all sovereign princes were concerned. Objecting, therefore, to any attempt upon Ireland, which would be opening a new theatre of war, or to any delay which would allow the enemy time to prepare for defence, he directed the prince to take what measures he thought best for exciting the Scotch to arms; but meantime to make ready with all speed for co-operating with the expedition, which would set sail as soon as he should be in readiness.† Upon another point, also, there had been a difference of opinion among Philip's advisers: some of whom thought

* Strada, 528—531. † Ibid. 582.

that war should be proclaimed against England, both to remove suspicion from other powers, and to alarm Elizabeth, who might then be induced to levy foreign troops for her defence; which if she did, it was to be expected that those troops, according to the usual insolence of mercenaries, would so demean themselves, as to excite discontent among the English people, and consequent confusion.* The formality of declaring war was, however, disregarded as a mere form on both sides; and on the part of the Spaniards it was deemed more politic to disturb the English with apprehensions of some great but indefinite danger, and at the same time divert them from making any effectual preparation for defence, by carrying on negotiations in the Low Countries, without the slightest intention of assenting to any terms of reconciliation that could be proposed.

The prince of Parma, therefore, while he prepared for the invasion with his characteristic diligence, which left nothing undone, opened a negotiation with England, to which Elizabeth, notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances of the States, gave ear, yet with a just suspicion that the proposal was insincerely made. Leicester, who had unwisely been entrusted with the command of the English auxiliaries, had conducted himself neither to the satisfaction of the States nor of his own government: the English and Dutch had not been found to agree when they came to act together, under circumstances that brought their national qualities into close and unamiable contrast †: the Dutch, too, were divided among themselves; so that there seemed little hope that England could afford them any such assistance as might enable them to obtain the objects for which they had taken up arms, and still less of any such happy termination, if they were left to themselves. With regard to England, it was the opinion of her greatest

* Camden, 404.

† "Plurimum autem differunt harum nationum ingenia et mores; nam Angli, ut addicte serviunt, ita evecti ad dignitates priorem humilitatem insolentiâ rependunt; Belgarum est parere et imperare cum modo, nec gens ulla fidelius amat eminentes, aut iisdem, si contemtus adsit, implacabilius irascitur." — *Grotius*, 95.

statesman, Cecil, that a peace was not only desirable, but most necessary; but it must be such a peace as should be clear and assured, leaving no such occasion of quarrel as had hitherto existed; the queen's subjects must be free from the Inquisition; and the people of the Low Countries not impeached for any thing which had past; but allowed to enjoy their liberties and franchises, and to have the use of their religion, now openly professed in their churches, for which they had so long stood to their defence.* The Dutch were well convinced that all negotiation was useless, and therefore refused to take any part: the English commissioners, however, met those of the king of Spain at Ostend: they first proposed a suspension of arms, "thereby to stay the coming of the Spanish fleet;" and to this the Spanish commissioners seemed to incline, craftily thereby seeking to persuade them that it was not intended against England. They asked for the renewal of old treaties and intercourse; the repayment of such sums as the queen had advanced to the States, not requiring this from the king, but that he should authorise the States to collect money for this purpose: farther, they required that foreign governors and foreign troops should, for the queen's safety, be withdrawn from the Low Countries; that the people might enjoy their ancient liberties and privileges, and be governed by their countrymen, not by strangers; and that there might be a toleration for two years at least, during which time the matter of religion should be ordered and established by the States. If these terms were concluded, the queen would agree to any reasonable conditions concerning the cautionary towns, that all the world might know she had taken possession of them not to aggrandise herself, but for her own necessary assurance and defence.†

To the more important of these proposals it was replied, that the king could not withdraw his troops till the States had submitted themselves, nor while the French

* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. part 2. p. 5. † Grimestone, 986.

were in arms; that the queen of England had nothing to do with the privileges of the Low Countries; nor was she to prescribe a law to him how he should govern his subjects; and that he would not hear of the free exercise of religion, but would grant a toleration, such as had been allowed to the towns that had yielded themselves to his obedience. The English commissioners made answer, that neither the queen nor the Netherlanders could be assured of any peace while foreign troops were maintained in that country: that in the privileges of these countries she had a special interest; first, in regard of neighbourhood; secondly, as being specially named in several pacifications; and, thirdly, because it was not possible for her subjects to enjoy their privileges there, unless the provinces themselves were allowed them. And for the point of religion, if the king would not hear of any toleration of the exercise thereof, then must the protestants be forced either to forsake the religion in which they had been born and bred, or go into perpetual exile. Not with any reason could the king refuse his subjects what in times past had been by his father, the emperor Charles, accorded to the Germans, and by other princes, and namely by himself, in his perpetual edict. None but dilatory replies were made to this replication, the object of either party being to gain time; for Philip would have consented to no other terms than such as an absolute conquest of the revolted States might have enabled him to impose; and Elizabeth, though she sincerely wished for peace, knew that it could not possibly be obtained. At this time the pope issued his bull, declaring that the catholic king was about to direct his power against England, and enjoining the queen's subjects, by their obedience to the church, to hold themselves in readiness for assisting the army which, under the prince of Parma, was preparing for their deliverance. Allen also, who had now been made a cardinal, published a book at Antwerp, which, for the audacity of its unhesitating falsehood, its vituperation, and its treason, may vie with any libel that ever

issued from the press.* He called Elizabeth heretic, rebel, and usurper; an incestuous bastard, the bane of Christendom, and firebrand of all mischief; one who deserved not deposition alone, but all vengeance both of God and man; and he reproached the English papists for their effeminate dastardly in suffering such a creature to reign almost thirty years, both over their bodies and their souls.† Nor was sophistry wanting in a composition thus highly seasoned with insolence and slander. He argued, that if there were no power by which apostate princes might be deposed, God would not have sufficiently provided for our salvation, and the preservation of his church and holy laws. Our obligation to the church far exceedeth all other that we owe to any human creature. The wife may depart from her husband, if he be an infidel or a heretic; the bond-slave, if his master become a heretic may refuse to serve him; yea, *ipso facto*, he is made free; parents, if they become heretic, lose their natural authority over their children. "Therefore," said the cardinal, "let no man marvel that, in case of heresy, the sovereign loseth the superiority over his people and kingdom. The pope," he added, "acting on a special canon of the great council of Lateran, touching the chastisement of princes that will not purge their dominions of heresy and heretics, hath specially entreated the king of Spain to take upon him this sacred and glorious enterprise; who, by this his holiness's authority and exhortation, moved also not a little by my humble and continual suit, hath consented and commanded sufficient royal forces to be gathered and conducted into our country."‡ The publication of this book at Antwerp was an overt

* Turner, 671.

† Strype, iii. p 2. app. no. 54.

‡ Yet this very man had but a few years before protested, "that neither the reverend fathers of the society of the holy name of Jesus, whom the people called Jesuits, (an express clause being in the instructions of their mission into England, that they deal not in matters of state, which is to be showed, signed with their late general's hand, of worthy memory,) neither the priests, either of the seminaries, or others, have any commission, direction, instruction, or insinuation, from his holiness or any other their superior, either in religion, or of the colleges, to move sedition, or to deal against the state or temporal government; but only by their priesthood and the functions thereof, to do such duties as be requisite for Christian men's

act of hostility; that of the bull amounted to nothing less than a declaration of war on the part of Spain.* The queen, therefore, directed Dr. Valentine Dale, who was one of her commissioners, to speak with the prince in person, charge him in good sort with the things contained in this publication, and require from him a direct answer, whether he were not appointed general of the army which was then preparing in Spain, and, as there publicly stated, for the invasion of England? †

The prince made answer, that he knew nothing either of the book or bull; nor had he undertaken any thing in obedience to the pope, nor attempted any thing of himself but honourably, in the service of the king his master, whom, as his own sovereign, he must obey. And for the queen of England, he had so high an esteem for her, for her royal virtues, that, next his own king, he honoured her above all persons, and desired to do her service. With that desire, he had persuaded the king

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souls, which consist in preaching, teaching, catechising, ministering the sacraments, and the like."—*Apology of the English Seminaries*, p. 71.

In the same apology, alluding to a publication, very similar both in matter and spirit to that which he now fulminated in his capacity of cardinal, Allen says, "touching some of our late repairing to the city of Rome, wherewith we are charged, the principal of that voyage (meaning himself) doth protest, that he neither joined with rebel nor traitor, nor any one or other, against the queen or realm, or traitorously sought or practised any prince or potentate to hostility against the same: farther invocating upon his soul, that he never knew, saw, nor heard, during his abode in the court there, of any such writings as are mentioned in the proclamation of July, containing certain articles of confederation of the pope, king of Spain, and other princes for the invasion of the realm, nor ever afterward gave counsel to publish any such thing, though he were at Rome at the day of the date, that some of those copies which afterwards he saw when they were common to all the world, do bear. Being also most assured that no other English catholic would or could be the author thereof, nor (as it may be thought), any other of those princes or their ministers, that are pretended to be of the foresaid league; being neither wisdom nor policy, if any such thing were intended (as we verily think there was not), much less if it were never meant, to publish any such libels to give the realm warning to provide for it; specially all the world knowing that the pinching of the poor catholics at home (a lamentable case) is their fence to repay for all adverse accidents abroad. And it may verily be thought (and so it is certain that some of the principal ministers of the forenamed princes have answered, being reminded thereof), that the protestants, having exercised skill and audacity in such practises and counter-practises of which France, Flanders, Scotland, and other countries have had so lamentable experience, did contrive them, to alter her majesty's accustomed benignity and mercy towards the catholics, into such rigour of justice as in the said edict is threatened." P. 15—16.

* Turner, 672. † Bor, 320. Grimestone, 996. Camden, 409.

to enter upon this treaty, which would be more advantageous for the English than the Spaniards. "For if the Spaniards be overcome," said he, "they will soon repair their loss; but if you are once vanquished, your kingdom is lost." Dale made answer, "Our queen is provided of strength sufficient to defend her kingdom: and you yourself, in your wisdom, may judge that a kingdom cannot easily be won by the fortune of one battle, seeing that in so many years of war the king of Spain has not yet been able to recover his ancient inheritance of the Netherlands."—"Be it so," replied the prince: "these things are in the disposal of the Almighty."* This consummate general practised a duplicity more conformable to his religion than his own better nature, when he denied all knowledge of a bull then circulating throughout the states which he governed, and a book which had been printed at Antwerp, with the knowledge and approbation of the authorities that he had himself established there. In forwarding with the utmost activity the preparations for invasion during the negotiations, he did no more than circumstances fairly warranted, and his plain sense of duty required: in this point, neither party was duped into any loss of irretrievable time. Most happily for England, the provinces which the prince of Parma had reduced were not the maritime ones; Flanders alone excepted. He had to seek, therefore, for shipwrights and for seamen: the former were brought from Italy, which still retained its reputation in this branch: the latter from Hamburgh, Bremen, and Embden. He thought also to obtain both ships and sailors from Denmark. The Danish king had endeavoured to act as mediator for bringing about, if that were possible, an accommodation between Philip and the States: but his ambassador, proceeding in company with some of the prince's soldiers, had been made prisoner by the Dutch in a skirmish; and as they either disbelieved or disregarded his pretensions to the character which he

* Camden, 409.

assumed, his papers had been opened. This so incensed the king, that he immediately detained 700 vessels which were bringing grain from the Baltic; for even if former experience had taught the Dutch to provide against such a danger, in the present circumstances of their country means and leisure for such provision were alike wanting, and they must have been reduced to immediate distress for food, if they had not, as necessity compelled, brought into their ports the French and English vessels * coming from the same sea. Spain, therefore, had less difficulty in contracting with the Danes for ships, mariners, and "soldiers upon the seas;" but the English resident at Copenhagen having intelligence of this, represented to the governors of the king (for he was a minor), that this was contrary to the league between the two crowns, and nothing conformable to the sincere friendship which had subsisted between queen Elizabeth and the king their master. This remonstrance prevailed; and though the parties pleaded their privileges, severe order was taken that no subjects of Denmark or Norway, or other parts appertaining to the king's dominions, should either then or thereafter serve against the queen.†

But in what was to be effected by human exertions under his own superintendence, the prince was in no danger of being disappointed. Two and thirty war ships he made ready at Dunkirk, hired for the same purpose five foreign vessels in that harbour, and engaged five more from Hamburgh to rendezvous there. Seventy flat-bottomed boats were fitted out in the little river Watene, each to carry thirty horses, with bridges for embarking and landing them; and at Nieuport about 200 similar vessels, but of smaller size. Here, too, he collected store of fascines, and all other materials for throwing up intrenchments and constructing sconces.

* "Ita vitatum discrimen solâ pecuniæ a Danis expressæ jacturâ; quod ipsum tamen et quia rex missos ad se legatos audire dedignabatur, hæsit altius multorum animis judicantium minora regna majorum opibus obnoxia teneri." — *Grotius*, 105.

† Strype, 25.

At Gravelines many thousand casks were got together, with cordage or chain-work to connect them, for forming bridges or blocking havens. Stakes for palisades also were provided, horse furniture of every kind, and horses for draught "with ordinance and all other necessary provision for the war." With such neighbours as the Zeelanders and the English at Flushing, even Antwerp did not give him the command of the Scheldt; and he was fain, therefore, to deepen and widen some of those channels by which Flanders is intersected, that ships might be brought from Antwerp by way of Ghent to Bruges, and so to Sluys; or by the Yperlee, which had also been deepened, to the other Flemish ports. At Nieuport he had thirty companies of Italian troops, two of Walloon, and eight of Burgundian. At Dixmude, eighty of Netherlanders, sixty Spanish, sixty German, and seven of English deserters, under sir William Stanley the traitor: each company consisted of 100 men, and better troops were never brought into the field than those who served under the prince of Parma: 4000 horse were quartered at Courtray, 900 at Watene. "To this great enterprise and imaginary conquest divers princes and noblemen came from divers countries; out of Spain came the duke of Pestraña, who was said to be the son of Ruy Gomez de Silva, but was held to be the king's bastard; the marquis of Bourgou, one of the archduke Ferdinand's sons by Philippina Welserine; don Vespasian Gonzagua, of the house of Mantua, a great soldier, who had been viceroy in Spain; Giovanni de Medici, bastard of Florence; Amedeo, bastard of Savoy, with many such like, besides others of meaner quality." *

These preparations held the States in alarm, the more so because the prince endeavoured to make them apprehend that his intention was to attack Goes, or Walcheren, or Tholen; on all these points they prepared for defence, and some were for cutting dykes, and drowning one part of the country for the sake of preserving

* Grimestone, 999, 1000. Bor, 317.

the other. But the wiser opinion prevailed, not to incur this certain evil till its necessity became evident; and the Dutch statesmen inferred that no movement would be made here till the great Spanish Armada, news of which was now bruited abroad, should arrive in the narrow seas; then they judged it would be joined by the prince of Parma's forces, whether the expedition was intended against them, or against England first; whichever were attacked, they knew that the subjugation of both was in view. For themselves, they stood in little fear of the Spanish fleet, from which the nature of their coast, in great measure, would protect them; but they were in much greater danger from the prince's flotilla, against which their shoals and difficult harbours could afford them no security. Straitened as they were for means, and with the disadvantage of an unsettled government, they exerted themselves manfully and wisely. All the vessels that they could muster were equipped; and after due consultation it was resolved that the larger vessels should be stationed between England and the coast of Flanders, outside the shoals, the smaller within the shoals, and the flotilla of smacks off Kleeyenburg, or between Rammekens and Flushing, according to circumstances. Their feelings toward England, notwithstanding the ill blood that had been stirred during Leicester's administration, was shown by a medal which they struck at this time. On the one side were the arms of England and of the United States, and two oxen ploughing; the motto *Trahite æquo jugo*—draw evenly; on the reverse two earthen pots floating upon the waves, the motto *Frangimur si collidimur*—if we strike we break.*

Meantime, though the negotiations at Ostend were still carried on in policy by the Spanish commissioners, there was on the part of the Spanish government a disdainful disregard of secresy as to its intentions, or rather a proud manifestation of them, which, if they had been successful, might have been called magnanimous. The great king had determined upon putting forth his strength, and

* Grimestone, 994. Bor, 318.

so confident were his subjects of success, that in the accounts which were ostentatiously published of its force, they termed it "The most fortunate and invincible Armada." The fleet, according to the official statement, consisted of 130 ships, having on board 19,295 soldiers, 8450 mariners, 2088 galley-slaves, and 2630 great pieces of brass; there were, moreover, twenty caravels for the service of the fleet, and ten six-oared *faluas*. The names of the most popular Romish saints and invocations appeared in the nomenclature of the ships; and holier appellations, which ought never to be thus applied, were strangely associated with the Great Griffin and the Sea Dog, the Cat and the White Falcon. There were in the fleet 124 volunteers of noble family, having among them 456 armed servants. There was no noble house in Spain but had a son, a brother, or a nephew in the voyage, embarked either at their own cost, or in the king's pay. The religioners who embarked for the service of the fleet, and for after operations, were 180, consisting of Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits. Don Martin Alarcon embarked, for the good of the heretics, as vicar-general of the holy inquisition; and implements of conversion of a more cogent kind than argument or persuasion are said to have been embarked in sufficient quantity. The business of reconciling England to the Romish see was committed to cardinal Allen, as it had formerly been to cardinal Pole, and an English translation of the pope's bull was ready for circulation as soon as a landing should be effected. The galleons being above sixty in number, were "exceeding great, fair, and strong, and built high above the water, like castles, easy, says a contemporary writer, to be fought withal, but not so easy to board as the English and the Netherland ships; their upper decks were musket proof, and beneath they were four or five feet thick, so as no bullet could pass them. Their masts were bound about with oakum, or pieces of fazeled ropes, and armed against all shot. The galleasses were goodly great vessels, furnished with chambers, chapels, towers, pulpits, and such like: they

rowed like galleys, with exceeding great oars, each having 300 slaves, and were able to do much harm with their great ordnance." In place of the marquez de Santa Cruz, who was dead, the duque del Medina Sidonia was general of this great armament; Don Juan Martinez de Ricalde, admiral.*

In whatever spirit of vengeance this expedition was undertaken, and with whatever ambitious views on the part of Philip, it cannot be doubted but that he believed himself to be engaged in a religious war, and that a great proportion of the army embarked with as full a persuasion that they were engaging in God's service, as the first crusaders felt when they set forth for the Holy Land. The duque of Medina Sidonia, in the general orders issued before his embarkation, said, "First, and before all things, it is to be understood by all in this army, from the highest to the lowest, that the principal cause which hath moved the king his majesty to undertake this voyage, hath been and is to serve God, and to bring back unto his church a great many contrite souls, now oppressed by the heretics, enemies to our holy catholic faith. And for that every one may fix his eyes upon this mark, as we are bound, I do command, and much desire every one to enjoin those who are under his charge, that before they embark, they be shriven and receive the sacrament, with due contrition for their sins; which if it be done, and we are zealous to do unto him such great service, God will be with us, and conduct us to his great glory, which is what particularly and principally is intended." Strict command was given that no one should blaspheme or rage against God, or Our Lady, or any of the saints, on pain of condign punishment; "oaths of less quality," were to be punished by deprivation of wine, or otherwise, as might seem fitting. Gaming was forbidden, as a provocation to this and other sins; and all quarrels between any persons of what quality soever, were to be suppressed and suspended, as well by sea as by land, even though they

* Grimestone, 998.

were old quarrels, so long as the expedition lasted. Any breach of this truce and forbearance of arms was to be accounted as high treason, and punished with death. For further security, it was declared that on board the ships nothing should be offered to the disgrace of any man, and that whatever happened on board, no disgrace nor reproach should be imputed to any one on that account; moreover, no one might wear a dagger, or thwart any one, or give any provocation. "And for that it was known that great inconvenience and offence unto God arose from consenting that common women, and such like, went in such armies," none were to be embarked: if any person sought to carry them, the captains and masters of the ships were ordered not to consent thereto: whosoever did thus, or dissembled therewith, was to be grievously punished. Every ship's company was to give the good-morrow at day-break, by the main-mast, according to custom; and at evening, the *Ave Maria*, and some days the *Salve Regina*, or at least on Saturdays, with a litany. A litany had been composed for the occasion, in which all archangels, angels, and saints were invoked to assist with their prayers against the English heretics and enemies of the faith. Should it happen because of the wind, that the word could not be given by the admiral, in such case the following words were appointed for the days of the week in order,—Jesus, the Holy Ghost, the Holy Trinity, Santiago, the Angels, All Saints, Our Lady. No men ever set forth upon a bad cause with better will, nor under a stronger delusion of perverted faith.

As needful preparations for action, the gunners were instructed to have half-butts, filled with water and vinegar * as usual, "with bonnets, old sails, and wet mantles, to defend fire;" and to have shot made in good quantity, and powder and match "ready, by weight, measure, and length;" and all soldiers to have "their room clean and unpestered of chests;" "and for

* Had then the wildfire, which was still in use, been derived from that of the Greeks, that vinegar was thought necessary for quenching it?

that the mariners must resort unto their work, tackle, and navigation," their lodgings were to be on the upper works of the poop and forecastle, otherwise the soldiers would trouble them in the voyage. "The artillery," said the instructions, "must stand in very good order, and reparted among the gunners, being all charged with their balls; and nigh unto every piece his locker, wherein to put his shot and necessaries; and to have great care to the cartridges of every piece, for not changing, and not taking fire; and that the ladles and sponges be ready at hand. Every ship shall carry two boats-lading of stones, to throw to profit, in the time of fight, on the deck, forecastle, or tops, according to his burden; and shall carry two half-pipes, to fill them with water in the day of battle, and repart them among the ordnance, or other places as shall be thought necessary, and nigh unto them old clothes and coverings, which, with wetting, may destroy any kind of fire." The wildfire was to be intrusted only to those who understood well how to use it, "otherwise it might happen to great danger." That there might be no excuse for neglecting these orders, on pretence of ignorance concerning them, they were to be publicly read, thrice a week, in every ship, by the purser.

Meantime Elizabeth and her wakeful ministers were well aware of the danger, and seeing it in its whole extent, they prepared to meet it with right English spirit. The lord lieutenants of the several counties were required, by circular letters from the queen, to "call together the best sort of gentlemen under their lieutenancy, and to declare unto them these great preparations and arrogant threatenings, now burst forth in action upon the seas, wherein every man's particular state, in the highest degree, could be touched in respect of country, liberty, wives, children, lands, lives, and (which was specially to be regarded) the profession of the true and sincere religion of Christ. And to lay before them the infinite and unspeakable miseries that would fall out upon any such change, which miseries

were evidently seen by the fruits of that hard and cruel government holden in countries not far distant. We do look," said the queen, "that the most part of them should have, upon this instant extraordinary occasion, a larger proportion of furniture, both for horsemen and footmen, but especially horsemen, than hath been certified; thereby to be in their best strength against any attempt, or to be employed about our own person, or otherwise. Hereunto as we doubt not but by your good endeavours they will be the rather comformable, so also we assure ourselves, that Almighty God will so bless these their loyal hearts borne towards us, their loving sovereign, and their natural country, that all the attempts of any enemy whatsoever shall be made void and frustrate, to their confusion, your comfort, and to God's high glory."* Letters, also, were addressed by the council to the nobility, because, in the directions given of late years for mustering, arming, and training all persons, there had been no special ones to the nobles, her majesty having "certainly supposed that it was the natural disposition of the nobility, without direction, to be armed, both for themselves, and for furniture of horsemen and footmen, according to their ability. The council, therefore, having a more certain knowledge than by common report, of what preparations were made beyond the seas, very likely for the offence of this realm, required each lord, to whom this communication was addressed, to receive it as one whom her majesty trusted, and as an argument of special love. And in regard thereof," the letter proceeds, "we do not doubt but that your lordship, with all the speed you can possible, will be furnished with armour and weapon meet for your calling; and of your servants and able tenants that are not already enrolled in the general musters of the country as special trained persons, to make as many horsemen as you can, both for lances and light horsemen. And for the more increase of horsemen, for want of sufficient number of great horse or geldings, we think your

* Strype. App. L.

lordship may do well to increase your number, if you shall provide able men with petronels upon horses of smaller stature."*

A contemporary relates, that "all the noblemen in the realm, from east to west, from north to south, excepting such only as could not be absent from their charge in the country, and some few that were not able to make forces according to their desire, came to the queen, bringing with them, according to their degrees, and to the uttermost of their power, goodly bands of horsemen, both lances, light horsemen, and such other as are termed carbines or argelatiers, lodging their bands round about London, and maintaining them in pay at their own charges. And of these noblemen, many showed the bands of their horsemen before the queen, in the fields afore her own gate, to the great marvel of men; for that the number of them was so great, and so well armed and horsed, that, knowing they were no parcel of the horsemen limited in every country, it was thought there had not been so many spare horses of such valour in the whole realm, except the north part towards Scotland, whose forces consist chiefly of horse." The first who presented himself and his retainers to the queen was a Roman catholic peer, the viscount Mountague, who at this time professed his resolution, "though he was very sickly, and in age, to live and die in defence of the queen and of his country, against all invaders, whether it were pope, king, or potentate whatsoever; and in that quarrel to hazard his life, his children, his lands, and goods. And to show his mind agreeably thereto, he came personally himself before the queen with his band of horsemen, being almost 200, the same being led by his own sons; and with them a young child, very comely, seated on horseback, being the heir of his house, that is, the eldest son to his son and heir: a matter much noted of many, to see a grandfather, father, and son at one time on horseback, afore a queen, for her service."†

* Strype, iii. part ii. pp. 13, 14
† Copy of a letter, &c. Harl. Misc. (8vo. ed.) ii. p. 76.

The clergy also were called upon by the primate, archbishop Whitgift.* "Being members," he said, "of one and the self-same commonweal, and embarked in the like common danger with others, if not more, in respect of our calling and public profession of religion, whereby we are also bound to go before others, as well in word as good example; we are, therefore, to remember, and advisedly to weigh with ourselves, what dutiful forwardness against these extraordinary imminent dangers, of very congruence, is expected at our hands, for the defence of our gracious sovereign, our selves, our families, and country. And, beside the very good expectation of the best, the stirring up of those which otherwise are but slow to further such service, and the discouraging of the common enemy, our willing readiness herein will be a good means also to stop the mouths of such as do think those temporal blessings, which God hath in mercy bestowed upon us, to be too much; and, therefore, spare not in grudging manner to say that themselves are forced, to their great charges, to fight for us, while we live quietly at home, without providing any munition in these public perils." He required the bishops, therefore, as the letter of the council required him, "effectually to deal with those of their cathedral churches, and other beneficed men in their dioceses, but especially such as were of better ability, for the furnishing of themselves with lances, light horses, petronels on horseback, muskets, calivers, pikes, halberds, bills, or bows and arrows, as in regard of their several abilities might be thought most convenient: and he desired them, by all good persuasions, to move such ecclesiastical persons to be ready with all free and voluntary provision of man, horse, and furniture. This present necessary service," he said, "being no great charge, and so expedient for every one to have in readiness, for the defence of his own person, house, and family, upon any sudden occasion."

The appeal from such a queen to such a nation was

* Strype's Whitgift, book iii. App. no. 38.

answered with just and enthusiastic loyalty. The city of London set an example worthy of London, such as the metropolis then was. When its aid was asked, the lord mayor requested that the council would state what would be deemed requisite. Accordingly, 5000 men and fifteen ships were required. The lord mayor asked two days for deliberation, and then, in the name of the city, prayed that the queen would accept of twice those numbers. Six thousand were immediately trained and regimented, being armed with musquets, pikes, calivers, and bills: the other 4000 were armed and put in readiness, and 10,000 more were reported as able men. The artillery company, which had originated about three years before, proved singularly useful now. At that time "certain gallant, active, and forward citizens," says the old historian of London, "having had experience, both abroad and at home, voluntarily exercised themselves and trained others, for the ready use of war; so that there were almost 300 merchants, and others of the like quality, very sufficient and skilful to train and teach common soldiers the managing of their pieces, pikes, and halberds, and to march, countermarch, and ring. These merchants met every Tuesday to practise all points of war. Every man by turn bore orderly office, from the corporal to the captain. Some of them had now charge of men in the great camp, and were generally called captains of the artillery garden." Most erroneously had cardinal Allen, and the king of Spain, and the pope judged, when they thought that Elizabeth and the English nation were to be intimidated by a display of overpowering force, and denunciations "that the realm should be invaded and conquered, that the queen should be destroyed, and all the nobility and men of reputation, of honour, and wealth, who should obey her, and defend her, and would withstand the invasion, should, with all their families, be rooted out, and their places, their honours, their houses, and their lands bestowed upon the conquerors!" For "these things were universally so odiously taken, that the hearts of all sorts of people were inflamed, — some with

ire, some with fear; but all sorts, almost without exception, resolved to venture their lives for the withstanding of all manner of conquest." The people, firmly devoted as they were to their magnanimous and excellent queen, were, by such insolent threats, "thoroughly irritated," says a contemporary, "to stir up their whole forces for their defence against such prognosticated conquests; so that, in a very short time, all her whole realm, and every corner, were furnished with armed men, on horseback and on foot; and those continually trained, exercised, and put into bands, in warlike manner, as in no age ever was before in this realm. There was no sparing of money to provide horse, armour, weapons, powder, and all necessaries; no, nor want of provision of pioneers, carriages, and victuals, in every county of the realm, without exception, to attend upon the armies. And to this general furniture every man voluntarily offered, very many their services personally without wages, others money for armour and weapons, and to wage soldiers: a matter strange, and never the like heard of in this realm or elsewhere. And this general reason moved all men to large contributions, that when a conquest was to be withstood wherein all should be lost, it was no time to spare a portion." *

There were some who advised the queen to place no reliance upon any means of maritime defence, but to expect the enemy's coming, and "welcome him with a land battle," as her father had resolved to do when he was threatened with invasion by a superior fleet; and as was intended in the time of the French Armada, in Richard II.'s reign. But Elizabeth, though her reliance was not upon any human strength, knew the worth of her seamen, and omitted none of those means of defence with

* Copy of a letter sent out of England (Harl. Musc. 8vo. edition, vol. ii. 63, 64.) The editor of this collection must have cast a careless eye over this letter, or he would not have supposed that it had really been written by a papist in the Spanish interest."

"One strange speech," says the writer, "that I heard spoken, may be marvelled at, but it was avowed to me for a truth, that one gentleman in Kent had a band of 150 footmen which were worth in goods above 150,000*l* sterling, besides their lands. Such men would fight stoutly before they would lose their goods." p. 65.

which God and nature had provided her. The command of the whole fleet she gave to Charles lord Howard of Effingham, who had been appointed lord high admiral three years before, on the death of the earl of Lincoln, Edward Clinton.* That office "seemed to have become almost hereditary in the Howard family. The queen had a great persuasion of his fortunate conduct, and knew him to be of a moderate and noble courage, skilful in sea matters, wary and provident, valiant and courageous, industrious and active, and of great authority and esteem among the sailors." Him she sent early in the year to the western coast with the main body of the fleet; Drake, who was her vice-admiral, joined him here, and Hawkins and Frobisher (great names in naval history) were in this division. Lord Henry Seymour, second son of the duke of Somerset, was ordered to lie off the coast of Flanders with 40 ships, Dutch and English; blockade the enemy's ports there; and prevent the prince of Parma from forming a junction with the Armada from Spain. Ten years before this time the royal navy consisted of no more than 24 ships of all sizes, the largest being of 1000 tons, the smallest under 60; all the ships throughout England of 100 tons and upwards were but 135, and all under 100 and above 40 tons were 656.† But if the ten years which had elapsed had done little toward the augmentation of the royal navy, it had added more than any preceding century to the maritime strength of the country in that race of sailors which had been trained up in adventurous expeditions to the new world. The whole number of ships collected for the defence of the country on this great occasion was 191, the number of seamen 17,472, the amount of tonnage 31,985. Eighteen of these ships were volunteers. There was one ship in the fleet (the Triumph) of 1100 tons, one of 1000, one of 900, two of 800 each, three of 600, and five of 500, five of 400, six of 300, six of 250, twenty of 200: all the rest were smaller. But, in the Armada, though there were only three ships that

* Camden, 325. † Campbell, i. 334.

exceeded in size the Triumph, there were no fewer than 45 between 600 and 1000 tons burden; and though the English fleet outnumbered the Armada nearly by sixty sail, its tonnage amounted not to one half of that of the enemy.*

For the land defence, somewhat more than 100,000 men were called out, regimented and armed, but only half of them were trained. Of these the cavalry, with the pioneers, amounted to 14,000. This was exclusive of the force upon the borders, and of the Yorkshire force, which was reserved for service northward. 20,000 men were disposed along the southern coast; an army of 45,000 was collected under the earl of Hunsdon to guard the queen's person, who, in case of the invaders' success, if she escaped from that malignant treason which had so often threatened her life, was to have been placed at the pope's disposal. The band of pensioners was attached to this army. Another was formed at Tilbury under Leicester: it consisted of 1000 horse, and 22,000 foot; and 2000 troops were requested and obtained from Holland to act with this force, which was specially intended to engage the prince of Parma, it being understood that London was the point for which he would immediately aim. "The Hollanders," says Stowe, "came roundly in, with threescore sail, brave ships of war, fierce and full of spleen, not so much for England's aid, as in just occasion for their own defence; these men foreseeing the greatness of the danger that might ensue, if the Spaniards should chance to win the day, and get the mastery over them; in due regard whereof their manly courage was inferior to none." Both sides of the river were fortified under the direction of Federico Giambelli, an Italian deserter from the Spanish service, who invented the famous fire-ships, or rather floating mines, employed against the prince of Parma over the Scheldt at the siege of Antwerp. Gravesend was fortified, and western barges brought thither with the twofold intent of constructing a bridge

* Charnock, vol. ii. 15. 17. Turner, 667.

like that of Antwerp, for blocking the river, and affording a passage for horse and foot between Kent and Essex, as occasion might require. Arthur lord Grey of Wilton, sir Francis Knolles, sir John Norris, sir Richard Bingham, and sir Roger Williams, were appointed, as experienced soldiers, to consult upon the best means of defence. They advised that the most convenient landing-places for the enemy, whether coming from Spain, or from the Low Countries, should be well manned and fortified, "namely, Milford Haven, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portland, the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, that open coast of Kent which we call the Downs, the Thames mouth, Harwich, Yarmouth, Hull. And that the trained bands all along the maritime counties should meet in arms upon a signal given, to defend the said parts, and do their best to prohibit the enemy's landing. And if the enemy did land, to lay all the country waste round about, and spoil all things that might be of any use to them; that so they might find no food but what they brought with them on their shoulders; and to busy the enemy night and day with continual alarms, so as to give them no rest; but not to put it to the hazard of a battle, till more commanders with their companies were come to them, — one commander being nominated in every shire."*

The bull, cardinal Allen's treasonable appeal to the English Romanists, and the opinion confidently expressed in Spain, that they would, as soon as Spanish aid afforded them opportunity, cast off the queen's yoke, and attempt something memorable for her destruction †, had rendered them objects of suspicion; and there were evil counsellors who argued that the Spaniards abroad were not so much to be feared as the papists at home; that no invasion would be attempted were it not in reliance upon their co-operation; and, therefore, that for the sake of public safety, the heads of this dangerous party ought to be taken off; alleging, as an example, that in Henry VIII.'s time, when, at the pope's instigation,

* Camden, 406.

† Strype, vol. iii. p. 33.

the emperor and the king of France were about to invade England, their intention was abandoned as soon as he had put to death the persons whom he suspected of favouring it. This Elizabeth justly condemned as wicked counsel: on account, however, of the general murmurs, she thought it prudent not only to secure the priests and seminarists, but to commit some of the principal laity to custody, part in Wisbeach castle, others in the bishop's palace at Ely.* This was not an indiscriminate measure, nor can it be judged from the event to have been a needless one; for, after the failure of the armada, when they might have been enlarged upon signing a bond, they took exception at a clause in it engaging "for their good behaviour to the queen and the state," because, they said, it seemed to touch them in credit; they offered a form of their own, which was properly suspected of some mental reservation; and, in fact, three of the persons who were thus committed were afterwards engaged in the gunpowder plot.

While all human means for defence were provided by the queen and her wise ministers, they did not neglect to implore that aid without which all human means would have been unavailing. A form of prayer, "necessary for the present time and state," was set forth, and enjoined to be used on Wednesdays and Fridays every week, in all parish churches. "One of these prayers deserves," says Strype, "to be recorded, in eternal memory of this imminent national danger:" it ran thus:—"O Lord God of Hosts, most loving and merciful Father, we, thy humble servants, prostrate ourselves before thy Divine Majesty, most heartily beseeching thee to grant unto us true repentance for our sins past; namely, for our unthankfulness, contempt of thy word, lack of compassion toward the afflicted, envy, malice, strife and contention among ourselves, and for all other our iniquities. Lord, deal not with us as we have deserved: but of thy great goodness and mercy do away our offences; and give us grace to confess and acknow-

* Camden, 406. Copy of a letter, &c. 66. Strype's Whitgift, i. 528—530

ledge, O Lord, with all humble and hearty thanks, thy wonderful and great benefits, which thou hast bestowed upon this thy church and people of England, in giving unto us, without all desert on our part, not only peace and quietness, but also in preserving our most gracious queen, thine handmaid, so miraculously from so many conspiracies, perils, and dangers. We do instantly beseech thee, of thy gracious goodness, to be merciful to thy church militant here upon earth; and, as at this time, compassed about with most strong and subtle adversaries. And especially, O Lord, let thine enemies know, and make them confess, that thou hast received England, (which they, most of all for thy Gospel's sake, do malign,) into thine own protection. Set, we pray thee, O Lord, a wall about it, and evermore mightily defend it. Let it be a comfort to the afflicted, an help to the oppressed, a defence to thy church and people persecuted abroad. And, forasmuch as thy cause is now in hand, we beseech thee to direct and go before our armies, both by sea and land. Bless and prosper them, and grant unto them, O Lord, thy good and honourable success and victory, as thou didst to Abraham and his company against the four mighty kings; to Joshua, against the five kings, and against Amalek; and to David, against the strong and mighty-armed Goliath; and as thou usest to do to thy children when they please thee. We acknowledge all power, strength, and victory to come from thee. Some put their trust in chariots, and some in horses,; but we will remember thy name, O Lord our God! Thou bringest the counsel of the heathen to nought, and makest the devices of the people to be of none effect. There is no king that can be saved by the multitude of an host; neither is any mighty man delivered by much strength. Therefore we pray unto thee, O Lord! thou art our help and our shield!"* "This," says Strype, "we may call a prayer of faith, in regard of the strong hopes of success to be granted to this kingdom professing the Gospel." And such is

* Strype, vol. iii. p. 2. 15—17.

the emphatic and scriptural language in which the prayers of the church of England have always been composed; such the sober and earnest devotion which they breathe; such the spirit of Christian humility in which they are conceived.

History never impresses itself so strongly on the imagination, as when, in great emergencies, it presents us with the hopes and feelings of the people in their own words. Never, indeed, had England been threatened with an equal danger since the Norman conquest; that was a danger of which there was no general apprehension throughout the nation; nor was it in itself so formidable; and even the evils which it brought upon the Anglo-Saxon people were light in comparison with the horrors of a Romish persecution, and a war such as that which was then raging in the Netherlands, when there were no such defensive advantages as the Netherlanders possessed in their strong places and the nature of their country. If ever national prayers proceeded from the heart of a nation, it was at this momentous crisis. One of the most passionate was framed in these words: "For preservation and success against the Spanish navy and forces. "O Lord God, heavenly Father, without whose providence nothing proceedeth, and without whose mercy nothing is saved; in whose power lie the hearts of princes, and the end of all their actions; have mercy upon thine afflicted church, and especially regard Elizabeth, our most excellent queen, to whom thy dispersed flock do fly, in the anguish of their souls, and in the zeal of thy truth. Behold how the princes of the nations do band themselves against her, because she laboureth to purge thy sanctuary, and that thy holy church may live in security. Consider, O Lord, how long thy servant hath laboured to them for peace, but how proudly they prepare themselves unto battle. Arise, therefore; maintain thine own cause, and judge thou between her and her enemies. She seeketh not her own honour, but thine; nor the dominions of others, but a just defence of herself; not the

shedding of Christian blood, but the saving of poor afflicted souls. Come down, therefore, come down, and deliver thy people by her. To vanquish is all one with thee, by few or by many, by want or by wealth, by weakness or by strength. O! possess the hearts of our enemies with a fear of thy servants. The cause is thine, the enemies thine, the afflicted thine: the honour, victory, and triumph shall be thine. Consider, Lord, the end of our enterprises. Be present with us in our armies, and make a joyful peace for thy Christians. And now, since in this extreme necessity, thou hast put into the heart of thy servant Deborah, to provide strength to withstand the pride of Sisera and his adherents, bless thou all her forces by sea and land. Grant all her people one heart, one mind, and one strength, to defend her person, her kingdom, and thy true religion. Give unto all her council and captains wisdom, wariness, and courage, that they may speedily prevent the devices, and valiantly withstand the forces of all our enemies; that the fame of thy Gospel may be spread unto the ends of the world. We crave this in thy mercy, O heavenly Father, for the precious death of thy dear Son, Jesus Christ. Amen."*

In this faith, with these preparations, and with a national spirit thus roused, the queen and the English people awaited the coming of the enemy. It was towards the latter end of May †, that the then called Invincible Armada sailed from the Tagus for Coruña, there to take on board the remainder of the land forces and stores. Cardinal Albert of Austria, then viceroy of Portugal, gave it his solemn blessing before it departed, and it set forth with all the confidence ‡ that could be derived from military and naval strength, and an entire belief that all the saints in the Romish Litany would

* Strype, book ii App. no 54.

† Most of the old accounts say the 19th. One which Mr. Turner follows makes it the 25th. The Dutch writers the 29th or 30th, and with this Camden agrees; but the earliest date accords with the account given to Drake by the hulk from S. Lucar.

‡ "With the greatest pride and glory," says sir W. Monsey, "and least doubt of victory that ever any nation did." P. 156.

befriend it. On the 30th, the lord admiral and sir Francis Drake sailed from Plymouth: their fleet "amounted to 100 sail, whereof 15 were victuallers, and 9 voluntaries of Devonshire gentlemen, many a serviceable man returning back for lack of employment or place." The easterly wind with which they set forth "continued but a short time; yet, nevertheless," says Drake, "all men were so willing of service, and none more than my lord admiral himself, that we endured a great storm (considering the time of the year), with the wind southerly and at south-west, for seven days; and longer we had, had not the wind come westwardly, and that so much, as in keeping sea, we should have been put to leeward of Plymouth, either for Portland or Wight, which places had not been so meet, either for the meeting of the enemy, or relieving ourselves of those wants which daily will be in so great an army of ships." He had met with intelligence that the enemy were at sea, and he inferred that either they would very shortly be heard of, or else go to Coruña, and there "make their full rendezvous." "I assure your good lordship," said he in his letter to Burleigh, "and protest it before God, that I find my lord admiral so well affected for all honourable services in this action, as it doth assure all his followers of good success and hope of victory. Thus humbly taking my leave of your good lordship, I daily pray to God to bless her majesty, and to give us grace to fear Him. So shall we not need to doubt the enemy, although they be many. From aboard her majesty's good ship the Revenge, riding in Plymouth Sound, this 6th of June, 1588. Your good lordship's very ready to be commanded, Francis Drake." This was the first despatch relating to the operations of this great campaign.

The storm which the English encountered dismasted some of the enemy's ships, dispersed others, and occasioned the loss of four Portugueze galleys. One sunk; a Welshman, David Gwynne* by name, who had been a

* Hakluyt, 596. Speed, 859. Bor. 321, 322. In the latter author the details are given.

galley-slave among these merciless people eleven years, took the opportunity of regaining his liberty, and made himself master of another, captured one galley with it, was joined by a third, in which the slaves were encouraged to rise by his example, and carried the three into a French port. The Armada, after this ominous commencement of the voyage, put back to Coruña; the lord admiral having received intelligence that it was broken in the storm, concluded rightly that its "storm-shaken" ships would return thither, and he set sail with the first fair wind, hoping to attack them in the harbour. But when he was not far from the coast of Spain, the wind came suddenly about into the south; and he, lest they should effect their passage with that wind, unperceived, returned to the entrance of the Channel. "I myself," he wrote, "do lie in the midst of the Channel, with the greatest force; sir Francis Drake hath twenty ships, and four or five pinnaces, which lie towards Ushant; and Mr. Hawkins, with as many more, lieth towards Scilly. Thus we are fain to do, or else with this wind they might pass us by, and we never the wiser.—The *Sleeve* is another manner of thing than it was taken for: we find it by experience and daily observation to be 100 miles over: a large room for me to look unto!"* Yet the delay of the enemy, and the report of what they had suffered, not from the storm alone, but also from sickness, deceived both the admiral and the government; the ships withdrew, some to the coast of Ireland, the admiral, with the greater part of the fleet, to Plymouth, where the men were allowed to come ashore. Many of them were discharged †, and the officers amused themselves with revels, dancing, bowling, and making merry." The queen was verily persuaded that the invasion was not to be looked for this year; and in that rash confidence the secretary Walsingham wrote to the admiral to send back four of the tallest ships-royal, as if the war for that season were surely at an end. Happily for England, and most

* Turner, 675. n. † Monson, 157.

honourably for himself, the lord Effingham, though he had relaxed his vigilance, saw how perilous it was to act as if all were safe. He humbly entreated that nothing might be lightly credited in so weighty a matter, and that he might retain these ships, though it should be at his own cost. This was no empty show of disinterested zeal; for if the service of those ships had not been called for, there can be little doubt, that in the rigid parsimony of Elizabeth's government, he would have been called upon to pay the costs.*

Meantime the Armada, having completely refitted, sailed from Coruña on the 12th of July. The duque de Medina Sidonia † had been ordered to keep along the coasts of Bretagne and Normandy; and if he met with the English fleet, to keep on the defensive, and avoid an action; and to repair to the road of Calais, there to wait for the prince of Parma: when their junction should have been effected, he was then to open the sealed instructions, which were directed to both. But as the news of the damage which he had sustained misled the English government, so did the information which he received that the English were off their guard induce him to depart from his orders; "yet this was not done without some difficulty, for the council was divided in opinion; some held it best to observe the king's commands, others not to lose the opportunity of surprising our fleet in harbour, and burning and destroying it. This course was strongly advised by Diego Flores de Valdez, on whom the duke most relied, because of his experience; and with that determination they steered their course for England. The first land with which they fell in was the Lizard: they mistook it for the Ram's-head; and "night being at hand, they tacked off to sea, making account in the morning to attempt the ships in Plymouth." ‡ One Thomas Fleming, a

* "A man employed rather for his birth than experience; for so many dukes, marquisses, and earls voluntarily going, would have repined to have been commanded by a man of less quality than themselves." — *Monson.*

† Camden, 410.

‡ Monson. In a discourse of sir Robert Slingsby's it is said, "had it not been for the English privateer Fleming, Valdez his counsel to burn our fleet

lucky pirate, had got sight of them off the Lizard, and hastened to Plymouth with the intelligence; — it was of such importance, that he obtained his pardon for it, and a pension during life. It had been little looked for, — and the wind at that time "blew stiffly into the harbour." All hands were got on board with all speed; the ships were warped out with great difficulty, "but indeed with singular diligence and industry, and with admirable alacrity of the seamen, whom the lord admiral encouraged at their halser-work, towing at a cable with his own hands. "I dare boldly say," says Fuller, "that he drew more, though not by his person, by his presence and example, than any ten in the place." He got out himself that night, with only six ships; some four and twenty came out on the morrow, and with these, though they were some of the smallest of the fleet, he stood out to meet the enemy, resolving to impede their progress at all hazards.

July 20. The next day the Armada was seen, "with lofty turrets like castles, in front like a half-moon; the wings thereof spreading out about the length of seven miles, sailing very slowly, though with full sails, the winds," says Camden, "being as it were weary with wafting them, and the ocean groaning under their weight." The intent of surprising the fleet in harbour being frustrated, they passed Plymouth, the English willingly suffering them to pass, that they might chace them in the rear, with a foreright wind. And on the morrow, the lord admiral sending the Defiance pinnace forward, denounced war* by discharging her ordnance, and presently his own ship, the Ark Royal, thundered thick and furiously

July 21.

as they lay in harbour without men, had taken effect. The Spaniards' ignorance in sea affairs, taking the Lizard for the Ramshead, and tacking off that night, lost their opportunity of destroying our fleet in Plymouth sound. And although king Philip's counsel for his fleet to sail along the coast of France was great and good, yet being to be put in practice by gentlemen ignorant in sea affairs, and preferred only for their birth, it lost the effect it might have had, and totally overthrew all their design." — *Charnock, Preface*, lxxvi.

* "Fire, smoke, and echoing cannons," says Speed, "began the parley; and bullets, most freely interchanged between them, were messengers of each other's mind."

upon what he supposed to be the general's ship, but it proved to be the vice-admiral's, Alonso de Leyva's. Soon after, Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher played stoutly with their ordnance upon the rear of the enemy where Recalde, the admiral, commanded; that officer endeavoured to prevent his ships from flying to the main fleet, till his own ship was rendered nearly unserviceable, and he was then fain, "with much ado," to hasten thither himself. "The duque then gathered together his fleet, which was scattered this way and that way, and hoisting more sail, held on his course with what speed he could. Neither could he do any other, seeing both the wind favoured the English, and their ships would turn about with incredible celerity which way soever they pleased to charge, wind, and tack about again." The Spaniards then felt a cause of weakness in their excess of strength, "their great ships being powerful to defend but not to offend, to stand but not to move, and therefore far unfit for fight in those narrow seas; their enemies nimble, and ready at all sides to annoy them, and as apt to escape harm themselves, by being low built, and easily shot over. Therefore they gathered themselves close in form of a half-moon, and slackened sail, that their whole fleet might keep together. After a smart fight, in which he had injured the enemy much, and suffered little or no hurt himself, lord Effingham gave over the action, because forty of his ships were not yet come up, having scarcely indeed got out of the haven.*

During the night, the St. Catalina, which had suffered greatly, was taken into the midst of the fleet to be repaired; and Oquendo's ship (of 800 tons) was set on fire, (it is said) by a Flemish gunner, whose wife had been abused and himself outraged by the commanding officer of the troops on board. It was part of their general orders, that if any ship took fire, those that were near were to make from her, sending, however, their boats to succour her; this was so well observed that no

* Hakluyt, 595. Speed, 860. Camden, 411.

other ship was injured, and the fire was quenched, though not before the upper works were consumed; but more diligence than humanity was shown in this, for after taking out whatever was of value that could be saved, when they abandoned the hulk they left in it some fifty of their countrymen, "miserably hurt." That night, also, in the confusion which this fire occasioned, Valdez's galleon ran foul of another ship, broke her foremast, and was left behind, and none coming to her assistance, "the sea being tempestuous and the night dark," the lord admiral supposed that the men had been taken out, and without tarrying to take possession of the prize, passed on with the Bear and the Mary Wolf, that he might not lose sight of the enemy in the darkness. He thought that he was following Drake's ship, which ought to have carried the lanthern that night; it proved to be a Spanish light, and in the morning he found himself in the midst of the enemy's fleet, "but when he perceived it, he cleanly conveyed himself out of that great danger." In the eagerness of hope Drake had forgotten or disregarded his orders, and engaged in close pursuit of five great ships, which he supposed to be enemies, but which, when he came up with them, proved to be Easterlings, holding their course by these contending fleets and protected by them from all danger of pirates. But the whole of the English ships, except the two which followed the admiral into so perilous a situation, lay to during the night, because the lanthern was not to be seen, nor did they recover sight of the admiral till the following evening. Drake himself had the good fortune to fall in with Valdez, who, after some parley, surrendered, seeing that resistance must have been vain. The prize was sent into Plymouth; and Drake's men paid themselves well with the spoil of the ship, wherein were 55,000 ducats in gold, which they shared merrily among them. The hulk of the galleon was also carried into Weymouth, to the great joy of the beholders; though the upper works had been consumed, and most of the

crew burned. The gunpowder in the hold had not taken fire, "to the great admiration of all men."*

On Tuesday the 23d the Spaniards were off Portland, and the wind came about into the north, so that they "had a fortunate and fit gale for invading the English." But the English, "agile and foreseeing all harms, recovered the vantage of the wind." After they had for some time manœuvred for this object, they prepared on both sides for action, the Spaniards "seeming more incensed to fight than before. And fight they did, confusedly, and with variable fortune; for on the one side the English manfully rescued some London ships that were hemmed in by the Spaniards, and on the other the Spaniards as stoutly rescued their admiral Ricalde when he was in danger."—"On this day was the sorest fight, yet with no memorable loss on either side." A great Venetian ship and some smaller ones were surprised and taken by the English. On their part captain Cock died with honour in the midst of the enemies, in a small ship of his own. Though this was the most furious and bloody skirmish of all, the loss was little, because the English, having given their broadsides, presently stood off, never exposing themselves in close action, but satisfied with levelling their guns with sure aim against those great ships, "which were heavy and altogether unwieldy. Neither did the lord admiral think good to adventure grappling with them, as some unadvisedly persuaded him. For the enemy had a strong army in his fleet, but he had none: their ships were of bigger burthen, stronger and higher built, so as their men fighting from those lofty hatches must inevitably destroy those who should charge them from beneath. And he knew that an overthrow would damage him much more than a victory would advantage him. For if he were vanquished he should very much endanger all England; and if he conquered he should only gain a little honour for beating the enemy." On the other hand the Spaniards were not less wary: they "gathered

July 23.

* Hakluyt, 597, 598. Speed, 860. Camden, 412.

themselves close into a roundel, their best and greatest ships without, securing the smaller and those which had suffered most;" so that it was apparent that they meant as much as possible to avoid fighting, and hold on to the place appointed for their junction with the prince of Parma.*

July 24. There was no wind stirring on the morrow, and only the four great galleasses were engaged, these having much advantage, by reason of their oars, while the English were becalmed; the English, however, galled the enemy with chain-shot, therewith cutting asunder their tacklings and cordage. But they were now constrained to send ashore for gunpowder, the want of which ministered displeasure, it is said, if not suspicion, to many, that a scarcity should thus be felt on our own coast. Those persons did not reflect how freely it had been expended during the three preceding days. The same day a council of war was held, and it was resolved that the fleet should be divided into four squadrons under the command of the four "most skilful navigators, whereof the lord admiral in the Ark Royal was chief, Drake in the Revenge led the second, Hawkins the third, and Frobisher the fourth. Out of every squadron, also, small vessels were appointed to give the onset and attack the enemy on all sides simultaneously in the dead of the night." This design took no effect for want of wind. The Spaniards, meantime, "observed very diligent and good order, sailing three and four, and sometimes more, in a rank, and following close up one after another, and the stronger and greater ships protecting the lesser." The morrow was Santiago's day, and the

July 25. Spaniards not improbably were animated by the hope that their patron saint might exert himself as visibly that day on their behalf as they had been taught to believe he had so often done against the Moors. The St. Anna not being able to keep up with the rest was set upon by some small ships: three galleasses came to her rescue; against these the lord admiral himself advanced,

* Hakluyt, 598. Speed, 860. Camden, 412.

and lord Thomas Howard in the Golden Lion: their ships being towed, because of the calm, they plied their guns with such effect that the galleon was not brought off without much difficulty, and from that time no galleasses would venture to engage. By this time they were off the Isle of Wight; and according to the Spaniards, the English, encouraged as it seems by success in the last encounter, battered the Spanish admiral (then in the rear of his fleet) with their great ordnance, approached closer than they had before done, and shot away his mainmast; but other ships came to his assistance, beat them off, and set upon the English admiral, who escaped only by favour of the wind which sprung up when he most needed it.* The English relate that they shot away the lantern from one of the enemies' ships, and the beak-head from a second, and did much hurt to a third, and that Frobisher extricated himself with great ability from a situation of great danger. The lord admiral knighted the lord Thomas Howard, lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, Hawkins, and Frobisher, for their behaviour on that day. Both parties appear to have demeaned themselves gallantly, and both, to have been rendered more cautious. The Spaniards say that from that time they gave over what they call the pursuit of their enemy; and they despatched a fresh messenger to the prince of Parma, urging him to effect his junction with them as soon as possible, and withal to send them some great shot, for they had expended theirs with more prodigality than effect. Without knowing of this intention on their part, the English also came to a resolution that they would make no further attack upon the Spaniards till they should arrive in the straits of Calais, where they should be joined by lord Henry Seymour and sir William Winter, with their squadrons. †

That same day the lord admiral received welcome assurances from Havre that no attempt in aid of the enemy would be made by the Guises, which there had

* Camden, 413. Turner, 679. † Camden, 414. Hakluyt, 599.

been reason to apprehend. His own force now was continually increased by ships and men, resorting to him "out of all havens of the realm; for the gentlemen of England hired ships from all parts at their own charge, and with one accord came flocking thither as to a set field, where glory was to be attained and faithful service performed unto their prince and their country." Among the volunteers who thus came out were the earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, with many others, whose names are conspicuous in Elizabeth's famous reign, the most illustrious of them being Walter Raleigh. So with a clear sky and a fair south-west wind the Armada held on its course, closely followed by the English fleet. On the evening of the 27th the Spaniards came to anchor before Calais just at sunset: their intention had been to hold on for Dunkirk in expectation of being joined there by the prince; but they were told by the pilots that if they proceeded any further they would be in danger of being carried by force of the tide into the northern sea. The English, also, anchored here, and within cannon shot. Seymour and Winter had joined with their squadrons. "And now were there in the English fleet 140 sail, all of them ships fit for fight, good sailors, nimble and tight for tacking about which way they would." Hitherto the whole brunt had been borne by not more than fifteen of them.

July 27.

The conferences at Ostend had continued up to this time; but when the firing was heard at sea "all dissembling was laid aside." The prince of Parma has been accused of more dissimulation than was consistent with his honourable character, for having solemnly assured the English commissioners that the Armada was not intended against England, if the terms for which they were treating should be agreed on. There seems to have been no duplicity in this, because in that case it would immediately have been directed against the United Provinces. Honourable dealing, however, was so little practised, or so little understood, in those times,

that these commissioners thought themselves in danger, because no hostages had been taken for their safety; and when they obtained a passport and a convoy to the frontiers, "they gave great thanks to the Spanish commissioners, and much commended the prince's honourable disposition in that he had so justly kept his word with them."* That prince, as soon as he was assured that the Armada was on its way, had made over his command in the Netherlands to the old lord of Mansfelt; and in that same spirit of Romish devotion, in which the expedition was set forth, went in pilgrimage to our lady of Halle, the most noted idol in those countries, that he might obtain her patronage and protection in this great attempt at the conquest of England. Returning from thence he repaired to Dunkirk, where he was to embark: there he heard the firing on the coast, found that Stanley's regiment of deserters was the only one which had embarked, and that the other troops were as little willing to go on board the ships as the ships themselves were likely to get out of the harbour.†

It had been concerted with the States, that a squadron of about thirty ships, under Cornelis Lonke van Rosendael, should unite with Seymour's squadron, and take its station between Dover and Calais. It had sailed with this intention, but a storm had compelled it to put back to Zeeland; and some of the English, too prone to put a sinister interpretation upon all the actions of their allies, complained of this, as if there had been an intentional breach of faith. But the squadron performed better service than if the original plan had been carried into effect; for, when the weather allowed of its again coming forth, it joined the admiral of Zeeland, Justinus van Nassau, and the vice-admiral of Holland, Jonker Pieter van der Does, who had with them about five and thirty sail of from 80 to 250 tons: 1200 soldiers were on board, selected from all the regiments in the service of the States, as good soldiers, accustomed to sea service; and with part of

* C[illegible]mstone, 00[illegible]. † Ib. 100[illegible].

this fleet they watched every creek and haven in Flanders, and with the remainder blockaded Dunkirk.* In vain did the duke of Medina Sidonia despatch messenger after messenger to the prince, urging him to send forty light vessels for the immediate protection of the Armada, cumbered as it was by the unwieldy strength of its own ships, and entreating him to put to sea with his army, that they might proceed together to the Thames. His flat-bottomed boats were leaky; his provisions were not ready; his men were not willing: the sailors had been brought together by compulsion, and were deserting as fast as they could from what they knew to be a desperate service: the galleys which might have cleared the way for him (if it could have been cleared) had been lost on the voyage; and the great general of his age knew that if he attempted to sail from Dunkirk in the face of the Dutch fleet, it would be wilfully exposing himself and his army to imminent and certain destruction.* Yet, unless some effort were made, all these mighty preparations would be frustrated, and Spain would suffer a loss of reputation not to be repaired; and he promised, if wind and tide permitted, to join them within three days.†

Fair as the hopes of the English were at this time, and admirable as their conduct had been from the hour that the Armada came in sight, it has been justly observed ‡ that the Spanish duke had thus far conducted his great expedition with as little evil and annoyance as could have been reasonably expected. The danger to England was still undiminished. The Armada had arrived unbroken at the point intended for its junction with the force from Flanders: it still appeared invincible to all except the English and the Dutch, and except those also who, in the confidence of its invincibility, had embarked in it. While it lay off Calais, in this anxious interval of expectation, "Flemings, Walloons, and French came thick and threefold to behold it, ad-

* Bor. 321. 323.
† Camden, 414. Grimstone, 1003. Turner, 680. ‡ Turner, 679.

miring the exceeding greatness of the ships, and their warlike order. The greatest kept the outside next the enemy, like strong castles, fearing no assault; the lesser placed in the middle ward."* At this time the English might regret the loss of Calais; but never were the councils of England more wisely directed. The Spanish ships, "as castles pitched in the sea, had their bulks so planked with great beams, that bullets might strike and stick, but never pass through, so that little availed the English cannon, except only in playing on their masts and tackling." In this respect they seemed as invulnerable as the floating batteries employed against Gibraltar. And their height was such, that our bravest seamen were against any attempt at boarding them. These things had been well perpended by Elizabeth's ministers, and the lord admiral was instructed to convert eight of his worst vessels into fire ships. The orders arrived in such good time, and were obeyed with such alacrity, that within thirty hours after the enemy had cast anchor off Calais these ships were disburdened of all that was worth saving, filled with combustibles, and all their ordnance charged; and their sides being smeared with pitch, rosin, and wildfire, they were sent, in the dead of the night, with wind and tide, against the Spanish fleet; "which when the Spaniards saw, the whole sea glittering and shining with the flames thereof, they remembered those terrible fire-ships which had been used in the Scheldt, and the fearful cry of 'The fire of Antwerp!'" ran through the fleet. They apprehended not the danger of fire alone, but all the evils that "deadly engines and murderous inventions" could inflict: some cut their cables; others let their hawsers slip, and in haste, fear, and confusion, put to sea, "happiest they who could first be gone, though few or none could tell which course to take."†

* Stowe, 748. "Fresh victuals were straight brought aboard. Captains and cavaliers might have what they would for their money, and gave the French so liberally, that within twelve hours an egg was worth sixpence, besides thanks."

† Hakluyt, 601. Strype, 861. Camden, 415. Grimstone, 1003. Bor. 324.

July 29. In this confusion, the largest of the galleasses, commanded by D. Hugo de Moncada ran foul of another ship, lost her rudder, floated about at the mercy of the tide, and, making the next morning for Calais, as well as she could, ran upon the sands. There she was presently assailed by the English small craft, who lay battering her with their guns, but dared not attempt to board, till the admiral sent an hundred men in his boats, under sir Amias Preston. The Spaniards made a brave resistance, hoping presently to be succoured by the prince of Parma, and the action was for a long time doubtful. At length Moncada was shot through the head, the galleas was carried by boarding, and most of the Spaniards, leaping into the sea, were drowned. The Veeder of the fleet, D. Antonio de Manrique, was one of those who reached the shore; and he was the first person that carried certain news to Spain of their "now vincible navy." This huge bottom, manned with 400 soldiers and 300 galley-slaves, had also 50,000 ducats on board; "a booty," says Speed, "well fitting the English soldiers' affections." Having ransacked all, and freed the slaves from their miserable fetters, they were about to set that vessel of emptiness on fire; but the governor of Calais would not permit this, fearing, it is said, the damage that might thereupon ensue to the town and haven. He fired, therefore, upon the captors, and the ship and ordnance became his prize.*

The duke, when the fire-ships were first perceived, had ordered the whole fleet to weigh anchor and stand off to sea, and when the danger was over, return every ship to its former station. The first part of this order they were too much alarmed to wait for or to heed; and when he returned himself, and fired a signal for others to follow his example, the gun was heard by few, "because they were scattered all about, and driven by fear, some of them into the wide sea, and some among the shoals of Flanders." Little broken yet in strength, though now losing fast the hope and the con-

* Hakluyt, Strype, Camden, ut supra.

fidence with which they had set forth, they ranged themselves again in order off Gravelines; and there they were bravely attacked. Drake and Fenner were the first who assailed them: Fenton, Southwell, Beeston, Cross, and Reyman followed; and then the lord admiral came up, with lord Thomas Howard and lord Sheffield. They got the wind of the enemy, who were now cut off from Calais roads, and preferred any inconvenience rather than change their array or separate their force, standing only upon their defence. "And albeit there were many excellent and warlike ships in the English fleet, yet scarce were there two or three and twenty among them all which matched ninety of the Spanish ships in bigness, or could conveniently assault them. Wherefore, using their prerogative of nimble steerage, whereby they could turn and wield themselves with the wind which way they listed, they came oftentimes very near upon the Spaniards, and charged them so sore, that now and then they were but a pike's length asunder; and so continually giving them one broadside after another, they discharged all their shot, both great and small, upon them, spending a whole day, from morning till night, in that violent kind of conflict."* "We had such advantage," says lord Monmouth, "both of wind and tide, that we had a glorious day of them, continuing fight from four o'clock in the morning till five or six at night." During this action, the Spaniards, "lying close under their fighting sails," passed Dunkirk with a south-west wind, close followed by their enemies. Their great ships were found vulnerable in the close action of that day; many of them were pierced through and through, between wind and water: one was sunk by captain Cross, in the Hope: from the few of her people who were saved, it was learnt that one of her officers, having proposed to strike, was put to death by another; the brother of the slain instantly avenged his death, and then the ship went down. Two others are believed to have sunk. The St. Philip and

* Hakluyt, 602.

the St. Matthew, both Portugueze galleons, were much shattered. D. Diego de Pimentel, in the latter, endeavoured to assist the former, but in vain; for being "sore battered with many great shot by Seymour and Winter," and the mast shot away, the St. Philip was driven near Ostend: as a last chance, the officers endeavoured to make for a Flemish port; but finding it impossible to bring the ship into any friendly harbour, they got to Ostend in the boats, and the galleon was taken possession of from Flushing. The St. Matthew suffered so much, and leaked so fast, that the duke sent a boat to bring Pimentel and some of the chief persons on board his own ship. A sense of honour withheld them from abandoning their men, and looking solely to the preservation of their own lives. The duke then charged them to keep company with him; but this was impossible: in that danger the one vessel could not slacken its course, and the other could make little way; for the water came in so fast, that fifty men were employed at the pumps. Seeing himself thus necessarily forsaken, Pimentel resolved to run aground on the Flemish coast; but here he was discovered by some of the Dutch ships, which had their station upon that coast; and, after losing some forty of his men in vain resistance, struck to Pieter Van der Does. The ship sunk in one of the Zeeland ports; and its flag was suspended as a trophy in St. Peter's church at Leyden; a city which had been in no light degree beholden for its own glorious deliverance to the illustrious family of Dousa.*

July 31. Still the duke did not despair of eventual success: an unexpected respite was afforded him; for the English had expended their ammunition, and were forced to send for a supply; and taking advantage of a strong west-north-wester, the Armada made an effort to regain his position in the straits, that the prince might join them. The spirit in which this resolution was taken was better than the seamanship: that wind carried them

* Bor. 325. Hakluyt, 602, 603. Camden, 415. Grimstone, 1004.

towards the shallows and sands on the Zeeland coast; and glad were they when it came to the south and enabled them to avoid the dangers by which they must otherwise soon have found themselves surrounded. That day Drake wrote to Walsingham,—"We have the army of Spain before us, and mind to wrestle a pull with him. There was never any thing pleased better than seeing the enemy flying with a southerly wind to the northward. I doubt not, but ere it be long, so to handle the matter with the duke of Sidonia, that he shall wish himself at St. Mary's Port, among his vine trees. God give us grace to depend upon him; so shall we not doubt victory, for our cause is good." But the hopes which Drake entertained of a brilliant victory * were not to be fulfilled. Enough had been achieved by the councils and the hand of man. That providence which had confounded the devices of the enemy effected by the agency of the elements the rest. The duke advised with his officers in the evening what course, after these unexpected disasters, should be pursued. They were now experimentally convinced that the English excelled them in naval strength. Several of their largest ships had been lost, others were greatly damaged: there was no port to which they could repair; and to force their way through the victorious English fleet, then in sight, and amounting to 140 sail, was

* "And here," says Sir William Monson, "was opportunity offered us to have followed the victory upon them; for if we had once more offered them fight, the general, it was thought, by persuasion of his confessor, was determined to yield; whose example, 't is very likely, would have made the rest to have done the like. But this opportunity was lost; not through the negligence or backwardness of the lord admiral, but merely through the want of providence in those that had the charge of furnishing and providing for the fleet. For at that time of so great advantage, when they came to examine their provisions, they found a general scarcity of powder and shot, for want whereof they were forced to return home. Another opportunity was lost, not much inferior to the other, by not sending part of our fleet to the west of Ireland, where the Spaniards, of necessity, were to pass, after so many dangers and disasters as they had endured. If we had been so happy as to have followed their course, as it was both thought and discoursed of, we had been absolutely victorious over this great and formidable navy, for they were brought to that necessity, that they would willingly have yielded, as divers of them confessed that were shipwrecked in Ireland. By this we may see how weak and feeble the designs of man are in respect of the Creator; and how indifferently he dealt betwixt the two nations, sometimes giving one, sometimes the other, the advantage, yet so that He only ordered the battle."—*Churchill's Collection*, iii. 159.

plainly and confessedly impossible. They resolved, therefore, upon returning to Spain by a northern course; and in that determination, "having gotten more sea room for their huge-bodied bulks, spread their main-sails, and made away as fast as wind and water would give them leave. But surely," says Speed, "if they had known the want of powder that our fleet sustained (a fault inexcusable upon our own coasts), they no doubt would have stood longer to their tacklings. But God, in this, as in the rest, would have us to acknowledge, that we were only delivered by his own gracious providence and arm, and not by any policy or power of our own." The lord admiral left Seymour to blockade the prince of Parma's force, and followed what our chroniclers now call the Vincible Armada, not without some apprehension that they might put into Scotland; but leaving Scotland on the west, they bent towards Norway, "ill-advised, but that necessity urged, and God had infatuated their councils, to put their shaken and battered bottoms into those black and dangerous seas." And the English having, in Drake's words, "cast them so far to the northward, that they could neither recover England nor Scotland, thought it best to leave them to those boisterous and uncouth northern seas."*

But while the loss which they had hitherto sustained was as yet uncertain, and the opinion on shore was that they would return to the straits, it was still thought probable that the prince of Parma might effect a landing. Elizabeth, who had not easily been dissuaded from her intention of being present in the battle wherever it should be fought, went to the camp at Tilbury. From the time that camp was formed, a true English spirit had been shown there. "It was a pleasant sight," says the good London chronicler†, who himself had seen it, "to behold the soldiers as they marched towards Tilbury, their cheerful countenances, couragous words and gestures, dancing and leaping wheresoever they came. In the camp their most felicity was the hope of fighting

* Hakluyt, 603. Speed, 862. Turner, 681. † Stowe, 744.

with the enemy, where, oft-times, divers rumours ran of their foes' approach, and that present battle would be given them; then were they as joyful at such news as if lusty giants were to run a race." When the queen came among them, "full of princely resolution, and more than feminine courage," she rode through the ranks with a general's truncheon in her hand, sometimes with a martial pace, another while gently, like a woman: "incredible it is," says Camden, "how much she encouraged the hearts of her captains and soldiers by her presence and her words."—"I think," says Leicester, "the weakest person among them is able to match the proudest Spaniard that dare land in England!" Her speech at this memorable time has been preserved*, and well might it animate them. "My loving people," she said, "we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear! I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects; and, therefore, I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all, to lay down for my God, for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood even in the dust. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too; and think it foul scorn that Parma, or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm; to which rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already for your forwardness you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the

* Somers Tracts (Scott's edition), i. 429.

word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble or worthy subject, not doubting but by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory, over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people."

While she was at dinner that day in the general's tent, there came a post with tidings that the prince of Parma and all his forces had embarked for England, and that his arrival with all possible speed was to be looked for. The news was immediately published through the camp*; and assuredly, if the enemy had set foot upon our shores, they would have sped no better than they had done at sea, such was the spirit of the nation. This intelligence was soon disproved; but after it was certain that by God's mercy the danger had been averted, some time elapsed before the fate of the Armada was ascertained. Statements of its success were confidently circulated upon the Continent, and credited according to the wishes of the hearer. It was affirmed that great part of the English fleet had been taken, great part sunk, and the poor remainder driven into the Thames "all rent and torn;" that they were utterly discomfited, and that Drake was made prisoner.† Poems were composed in honour of the victory, as poems had been composed to predict it. It was believed at Rome that Elizabeth was taken, and England conquered; and cardinal Allen is said to have made a feast in honour of the event, and invited to it the Scotch, Irish, and English who were in that city. But in vain, meantime, was the ship looked for in the Spanish ports that should bring good tidings home! The unhappy fleet, after the English had given over the pursuit, threw their

* Turner, 682. note.

† "And that there was found in his ship a piece of twenty-five spans, of one quintal of munition, made on purpose, of one only shot, to sink the admiral of Spain; but it pleased God, though she was hurt therewith, yet she was repaired again, and overcame the English fleet." —*Strype's App.* b. ii. no. 55.

mules and horses overboard lest their water should fail. They knew that they had no relief to expect in Scotland, and that Norway could not supply their wants; so taking some captured fishermen for pilots, they sailed between the Orkney and the Feroe islands; and when they had reached the latitude of sixty-two, and were some 200 miles from any land, the duke ordered them each to take the best course they could for Spain. He, himself, with some five and twenty of the ships that were best provided, steered a straight course, and arrived in safety. The others, about forty in number, made for Cape Clear, hoping to water there; but a storm from the south-west overtook and wrecked many of them upon the Irish coast. Their treatment there is the only circumstance in the whole history of this enterprise, which is disgraceful to an English name. For the lord deputy, sir William Fitzwilliam, fearing they should join the rebels, and seeing that Bingham, the governor of Connaught, refused to obey his merciless orders concerning them, sent his deputy marshal, "who drove them out of their hiding places, and beheaded about 200 of them." The queen condemned this cruelty from her heart, though no such punishment as he deserved was inflicted upon Fitzwilliam. Terrified at this, the other Spaniards, "sick and starved as they were, committed themselves to the sea in their shattered vessels, and very many of them were swallowed up by the waves."* But with some of the officers who escaped this butchery, Tyrone concerted his rebellion.† It is supposed that more than thirty of their ships perished off the coast of Ireland, with the greater part of their crews. Two vessels were cast away on the coast of Norway. Some few, having a westerly wind, got again into the English seas; of these, two were taken by the cruisers off Rochelle, and one (a great galleass) put into Havre. About 700 men who were cast ashore in Scotland were there humanely treated, and, with Elizabeth's consent, were, at the prince of Parma's

* Camden, 417. † Fiennes Moryson, 8. Carte's Ormond, i. 58.

request, sent over to the Netherlands. Relics of this great destruction are still sometimes brought to light. It is not long since the remains of an anchor, which appeared to have belonged to the Armada, was picked up in a fisherman's trawl off Dover; and in 1832 one of their cannon* was found on the coast of Mayo. Of the whole Armada, only fifty-three vessels returned to Spain; eighty-one were lost; and of 30,000 soldiers who were embarked, nearly 14,000 were missing, the prisoners being about 2000.

Philip's behaviour when the whole of this great calamity was known should always be recorded to his honour. He received it as a dispensation of Providence; and gave, and commanded to be given, throughout Spain, thanks to God and the saints that it was no greater.

Sept. 8. England having thus been "delivered by the hand of the Omnipotent, and the boar put back that sought to lay her vineyard waste," Elizabeth ordered a solemn thanksgiving to be celebrated at St. Paul's, where eleven of the Spanish ensigns were hung upon the lower battlements, "as palms of praise," says Speed, "for England's deliverance, a show, no doubt, more acceptable to God than when their spread colours did set out the pride of their ships, threatening the blood of so many innocent and faithful Christians." On the following day, which was Southwark fair, the same flags were displayed upon London bridge. They were finally suspended in St. Paul's. Less perishable trophies were deposited in the Tower, where many of the arms taken in the captured ships are still preserved; and not a few instruments of torture, wickedly devised, but more probably intended for the punishment of offences on board, than for the use of their inquisitors, who, if the conquest had been effected, might have found racks in England, and would have had fire and faggot at command. Another great thanksgiving day was celebrated on the anniversary of the queen's accession, which was long and most fitly observed as a holiday in these kingdoms: one of greater

* It is now in lord Sligo's possession.

solemnity, two days after, throughout the realm; and on the Sunday following, the queen repaired as in public, but Christian, triumph, to St. Paul's. Her privy council, her nobility, the French ambassador, the judges, and the heralds, attended her. The streets were hung with blue cloth, "the several companies, in their liveries, being drawn up on both sides the way, with their banners in becoming and gallant order." Her chariot* was made in the form of a throne with four pillars, and drawn by four white horses; alighting from it at the west door of St. Paul's, she there knelt, and, with great devotion, audibly praised God, acknowledging him her only defender, who had thus delivered the land from the rage of the enemy. Pierse, bishop of Salisbury, who was her lord almoner, preached a sermon, "wherein none other argument was handled, but only of praise and glory to be rendered unto God. And, when he had concluded, the queen herself (like unto another Joshua, David, and Josias), with most princely and Christian speeches, exhorted the people to the due performance of those religious services of thankfulness unto God."† It was manifest, indeed, that over-ruling Providence had preserved them. Well and properly has it been observed by the ablest of our naval biographers‡, that, great as were the exploits of the English fleet, they were as nothing compared with what the elements wrought for England; and that this our ancestors proclaimed with one accord, "breathing the pure spirit of that blessed Reformation which had been so recently achieved for them." The people of England have never, since the Norman conquest, been chastised by the hand of a foreign enemy: when

* "Coaches," says Camden, "were not then so much in use among princes as now they are amongst private men."

† Memoirs of Celebrated Naval Commanders, illustrated by engravings from original pictures in the Naval Gallery of Greenwich Hospital, by Edward Hawke Locker, Esq. I cannot refer to this work without regretting that Mr. Locker should have been compelled by ill health to limit to a single volume a work for which he was in every respect so eminently qualified.

‡ Speed, 862. Camden, 418. Strype, 27.

their own folly and their own sins have brought upon them God's judgments, the instructive punishment has been administered by their own hands.

Lord Effingham was rewarded with a pension. The queen many times commended him and the captains of her ships, as men born for the preservation of their country. A greater service it has never fallen to the lot of any Englishman to perform. "True it is," says Fuller, "he was no deep seaman (not to be expected from one of his extraction); but he had skill enough to know those who had more skill than himself, and to follow their instructions, and would not starve the queen's service by feeding his own sturdy wilfulness, but was ruled by the experienced in sea matters; the queen having a navy of oak, and an admiral of osier." He did good service afterwards at Cadiz, being joint commander with the earl of Essex in that famous expedition, and, for that service, was advanced to the title of earl of Nottingham, as descended from the Mowbrays, some of whom had been earls of that county. On the apprehension of another invasion, at a time when it was known that Essex entertained rash and dangerous designs, lord Nottingham was intrusted with the command of both fleet and army, "with the high and very unusual title of lord lieutenant-general of all England; an office scarcely known to former, never owned of succeeding times, and which he held with almost regal authority for the space of six weeks, being sometimes with the fleet in the Downs, and sometimes on shore with the forces."* It was to him, who, the queen said, was "born to serve and save his country," that Essex, after his insane insurrection, yielded himself a prisoner; and to him that the queen, upon her death, made that wise and constitutional declaration concerning her successor,—"My throne has been held by princes in the way of succession, and ought not to go to any but my next and immediate heir."

James continued him in his post of lord admiral,

* Campbell, i. 377.

appointed him lord high steward at his coronation, sent him ambassador to Spain, and chose him for one of the commissioners to treat of an union between England and Scotland. The last honour which fell to his lot was that of conveying the elector palatine and his bride, the princess Elizabeth, to Flushing. At the age of eighty-three he resigned his post, retaining, by special patent, the precedence which it had given him; and, in his eighty-seventh year, dying in peace at Haling-House, in Surrey, was buried in the family vault under the chancel of Ryegate church. His office had been "of great profit, prizes being so frequent in that age; but great," says Fuller, "his necessary, and vast his voluntary, expenses; keeping seven standing houses at the same time: so that the wonder is not great if he died not very wealthy."

NOTES.

Artillery, p. 58.

The following orders respecting stone bullets, and the carriage of artillery, were issued in the year 1418.

Super factura lapidum pro gunnis, de intendendo.

Rex dilectis sibi, Johanni Louthe, clerico operationum Ordinationis nostræ, et Johanne Benet, de Madeston, Mason, salutem.

Sciatis quod assignavimus vos ad tot cimentarios et laborstores, quot necessarii fuerint pro factura septem millium lapidum, pro gunnis de diversis sortibus, una cum sufficiente stuffurâ lapidum pro eisdem, tam infra quarreras de Madestonhithe quam alibi, ubi melius videritis pro proficuo nostro expedire, arestandum et capiendum.

Et præfatos cimentarios in operibus nostris prædictis, ad vadia nostra, ponendum et in eisdem detenendum, quousque lapides prædicti plenarie facti fuerint et constructi.

Necnon ad tot carectas, batellas, et naves, uná cum marinariis et laboratoribus, quot pro cariagio, batillagio, seu frectagio lapidum prædictorum necessariæ fuerint, de locis ubi prædicti lapides facti fuerint, infra regnum nostrum Angliæ seu versus partes transmarinas transmittendorum similiter capiendum et providendum.

De omnimoda stuffura pro gunnis memoratis. Rex dilecto sibi Johanni Louthe, clerico operationum Ordinationis nostræ, salutem.

Scias quod assignavimus te ad tot carpenterios, juncturs, fabros, carbonarios, ac alios artifices et laboratores uná cum sufficiente stuffurâ de maeremio, salice, popiller, carbonibus, maritimis et salicis, et de ferro, quot pro fractura trescentorum pavys grossorum pro gunnis, quaterviginti blokk, et septem millium tampons pro eisdem; quinquaginta jugorum de ligno pro bobus infra trahendis, centum cathenarum pro eisdem, duodecim carectarum grossarum pro gunnis grossis supracariandis, viginti piparum de pulvere de carbonibus salicis necessaria fuerint.

Arestandum, providendum, et capiendum, et in eisdem operibus nostris ponendum et expendendum.

Ac etiam ad centum boves, trescentos et viginte equos, pro carectis prædictis una cum trescentis colariis de corio, reparatis, cum hamis de ligno, ac stuffurâ rationabili de pipis rigeboundes, bellebondes et sloptyng-ledders, de corio, pro reparatione trescentorum parium trays pro equis et carectis, quadringentes tribulis, trescentis pekoys, duobus barellis de calibe, ac aliis rebus quibuscumque, pro Ordinatione prædictâ necessariis.

Necnon ad tot carectas, batellos, et naves, una cum marinariis et laboratoribus similiter capiendum et providendum, quot pro cariagio, batillagio, seu frectagio rerum prædictarum, de locis ubi providebuntur, infra regnum nostrum Angliæ, seu versus partes transmarinas, transmittendarum, similiter capiendum et providendum. — *Rymer*, ix. 542, 543.

The Great Harry, p. 179.

" The masts were five in number*, — a usage which continued in the first-rates without alteration, till nearly the end of the reign of Charles I. : they were without division, in conformity with those which had been in unimproved use from the earliest ages. This inconvenience it was very soon found indispensibly necessary to remedy, by the introduction of several joints, or top masts, which could be lowered in case of need, — an improvement that tended to the safety of the vessel, which might very frequently, but for that prudent precaution have been much endangered by the violence of the wind. The rigging was simple, and, at first, somewhat inadequate even to those humble wants of our ancestors, which a comparison with the present state of naval tactics fairly permits us to call them; but the defects were gradually remedied, as experience progressively pointed them out. The ornaments consisted of a multitude of small flags, disposed almost at random on different parts of the deck or gunwale of the vessel, and of one at the head of each mast. The standard of England was hoisted on that which occupied the centre of the vessel; enormous pendants, or streamers, were added, though an ornament which must have been very often extremely inconvenient. This mode of decoration was evidently borrowed and transferred from the galley, in which class of vessels it

* Four of them upright, forming a right angle, or nearly so, with the keel, and one fixed obliquely, which has, in later times, received the name of the boltsprit.

has been continued, with little or no striking variation, even to the present moment.

"The general appearance of the vessels, as given in the original drawing, have a wonderful resemblance to what we may, without any great stretch of imagination, suppose the master ship-builder to the emperor of China would construct, if ordered to prepare, as well from his own best experience, as according to his own ideas, a vessel of that given magnitude and force.

"It must have been extremely narrow, and so high built, especially abaft, in proportion to the length, as to be in danger of oversetting with even a slight shock of the sea, or being compelled to steer otherwise than directly from the wind; but it must not be forgotten, that the navigators of that time were not prepared for any other course. Their vessels were totally unfurnished with such sails as might have enabled them to haul close upon it, even had the formation of the hulls permitted it; they had, therefore, nothing to fear from the consequence of the measure, which they were unable to carry into execution. The principles of ship-building, and the grand proportions to be observed in all the chief dimensions, had been, as it were, traditionally handed down through a series of years, so that it would have been deemed the height of scepticism to have doubted the propriety of them in any one particular. Like the galleys of ancient Rome, they were extremely long, narrow, and lofty; very unstable, and of course perpetually exposed to a frequency of accidents, which, without our knowledge of the cause, would be now almost incredible, as we know them never to have ventured out of their ports, except in the summer months, and when the wind blew perfectly favourable to their intended course.

"The rest of the ships which composed the English royal navy at this time, were of far inferior force, the largest not being of more than 300 tons burthen, and their number extremely limited, so that they amounted to no more than seven or eight vessels, some of which were mere pinnaces."—*Charnock's Hist. of Marine Architecture,* ii. 30, 31.

Sir Edward Howard, p. 181.

1512. Indenture between the King and his trusty and well beloved Sir Edward Howard, Knt. for his body, then appointed admiral chief and general captain of the army, now set to the sea for the salve guard and sure passage of the King's subjects, frends, allies, and confederates.

He was to have 3000 men harnessed for the war, over and above 700 soldiers, mariners, and gunners, that should be in the king's ship called the Regent.

Of which 18 were to be captains, 1750 soldiers, 1233 mariners and gunners.

The admiral, for the maintaining of himself, and his diets, wages, and rewards, daily, during the voyage, 10 shillings.

The captains 18*d*. except they be of the number of the king's spears, which shall be contented with their ordinary wages.

Soldiers, mariners, and gunners, 5 shillings per month for wages, and 5*s* for vitayles without any thing else demanding for either, saving that they should have certain dead shares.

The admiral should receive three months pay for all in advance: and at the same time 4*s*. for the coote of every captain and soldier and 1*s*. 8*d*. for the coote of every mariner and gunner.

The fleet was to be of 18 ships.

The Regent of 1000 tons, for which the admiral was to have 50 dead shares, and four pilots.

The Mary Rose,	500	34½ dead shares.
Peter Pomegranate	400	28
John Hopton's ship	400	23½
The Nicholas Reedy	400	23½
The Mary John	240	22½
Anne of Greenwich	160	22½
Mary George	300	22½
Dragon	100	22½
Lyon	120	22½
Barbara	140	22½
George of Falmouth	*ib.*	*ib.*
Peter of Fowey	120	*ib.*
Nicholas of Hampton	200	22
Martenet	180	22½
Genet	70	22½
Christopher Davy	160	22
Sabyen	120	22

And two crayers for revictualling and refreshing them.

Every man to have 6*d*. a day conduyt money for the journey from his house to the port, accounting twelve miles a day's journey.

The king, forasmuch as he had victualled the said army and navy at his cost, to have one half of all manner of gains and winnings of the war, all prisoners being chieftains or having the king's adversaries power, and one ship royal being of the portage of 200 tons or above, with the ordinance and apparel

of every such prize, and all artillery that may be taken in any ship.—*Rymer*, xiii. 326-329.

Dudley, p. 226.

When the earl of Warwick, in 1549, was made great admiral of England, Ireland, Wales, Calais, Boulogne and the Marches, Normandy, Gascony, and Aquitaine, with all the "jurisdictiones, auctoritates, libertates, officia, feoda, proficua, vadia, emolumenta, wrecca maris, et maris ejectum, regarda, advantagia, commoditates, et praeeminentias," belonging to the office, he was to have the goods and chattels of all traitors, pirates, homicides and felons, offending within his jurisdiction, and the goods debts, and chattels of all who aided and abetted them; as also "quorumcumque fugitivorum convictorum, attinctorum, dampnatorum, utlagatorum."

Necnon et bona waviata, flotezon, jetson, lagon, shares; Thesaurum inventum seu inveniendum, deodanda, ac bona inimicorum pro derelictis habita sive habenda, seu casu fortuito reperta aut reperienda, vel qualitercumque debita seu debenda, and all "casualia" between high and low water mark, and in all creeks, rivers, and ports.

Moreover anchoragia, beaconagia, et lastagia, and all royal fish, viz. sturgiones, balenas, cetas, porpetos, delphinos, regges, graspes, et generaliter caeteros pisces quoscumque magnam sive ingentam crassitudinem sive pinguedinem in se habentes, such by ancient right and customs belonging to the high admiral.

Moreover all fines, recognizances, &c. for things within his jurisdiction; a salary of 200 marks, and full power of hearing and deciding all causes, civil or criminal, within his cognizance, and all disputes between merchants and ship-owners; and of proceeding against regraters and forestallers, and of preserving the rivers, and ports, and fish, punishing those who used unlawful nets or other unlawful means in fishing.—*Rymer*, xv. 194-200.

Calais, p. 257.

Of what importance this place was deemed, may be seen by the opening of that very curious poem, "The Libel of English Policy."

The true process of English pollcie
Of utherward to keep this region,
Of our Englond, (that no man may denie
Nor say of sooth but it is one of the best)
Is this; that who seeth South, North, East and West,
Cherish merchandise, keep the Admiraltie,
That we be masters of the narrow see.

For Sigismund the great emperour,
(Which yet reigneth) when he was in this lond,
With King Henry the fift, prince of honour,
Here much glory. as him thought, he found;
A mighty land which had taken in hand
To warre in France, and make mortality,
And ever well kept round about the sea.

And to the king thus he said: My brother,
(When he perceived two towns, Calys and Dover)
Of all your towns to chuse, of one and other
To keep the sea, and soon to come over
To warre outwards, and your reign to recover,
Keep these two towns sure, and your majestie,
As your tweyne eyne, so keep the narrow sea.

For if this sea be kept, in times of werre
Who can here pass without danger and woe?
Who can escape? who may mischief differre?
What marchandie may for by be agoe?
For needes him must take trewes every foe,
Flanders and Spain, and other trust, to me,
Of else hindred all for this Narrow Sea.

Hakluyt, i. 187.

Spanish Armada.

The reader may be amused at seeing in what manner an Italian Jesuit of the eighteenth century has represented the failure of this expedition. P. Nicolo Partenio Giannettasio makes no mention whatever of the English fleet!

Numerosa Tagi spatioso e flumine classis
Egreditur, Zephyrisque volat felicibus: illam
Divitiæ ingentes populorum, et regna Philippi
Conflarint duodena super, simul Indus uterque
Argenti vim magnam, vim intulit auri magnam

Infecti, factique: virûm tot millia tanto
Sudarunt operi, atque insumptus plurimus annus.
Obstupuit Nereus innantes gurgite turres
Aspiciens: Cœlum num tantis viribus, inquit,
His petitur? Tellus etenim molimine tanto
Non sat digna: tamen populi, gentesque timete,
Perniciem in vestram magni si regis Iberi
Tot formidandæ vires, totque arma parantur.
Et jam vicini pariter, pariterque remoti
Perculsi reges animis, quas tantus in oras
Vertisset sese turbo. Primique rebelles
Et meritò Batavi, jamque ultima fata timebant.
Nec vacua ipsa metu tum Gallia: plurima belli
Causa aderat, ruptum fœdus, dataque hostibus arma.
At reliquos supra dira Elizabetha timebat;
Monstrum horrendum, eadem vir, fœmina, nobile scortum,
Et virgo, et conjux divina, humana sacerdos,
Et regina, suis vertique regique volebat
Sub manibus: Stygiis merito damnata Chymæra.
Et poterat tantis armorum viribus alta
Exturbari sede, simulque tyrannica tolli
Imperia, et fidei revocari ad jura Britanni,
Criminibus magnis populorum Numine læsa
Ne contrà obstiterint. Neque enim tunc Anglia digna
Visa Deo: lachrymis needum scelera alta piarat.
Sed gentis pro more, diù cunctante Magistro,
Seriùs oceani ad fines venère Britanni
Velivolæ turres centum, centumque carinæ,
Et tormentorum numero, rostrisque timendæ:
Nam tempestates autumni tempore primo
Exortæ, rapidique egressi è carcere venti,
Vique fretum super effusi, rabieque furoreque
Ilicet horrendos egêre ad sidera fluctus.
Æther turbinibus, nigrescunt æquora ventis
Discissa, et cani montes volvuntur aquarum.
Quis vero Austriacæ classis queat ore referre
Luctificam visu faciem, miserandaq. fata?
Et tristes gemitus, lacrymasq. tenere fluentes
Torrentis de more? Videns tot gurgite Gaulos
Terribiles nuper, cœlo cervice minantes,
Et tot rostratas, auroque armisque nitentes
Fluctibus insanis jactari, et turbine cœco.
Totq. duces illustria nomina, totque magistros
Militiæ claros: juvenesque ad prœlia lectos
Imperio è toto, miseranda sorte perire:
Ceu plebem ignavam, nullo certamine, et armis

Depositis, ventis prædam et turgentibus undis.
Ipsi Tritones, insanaque Numina ponti,
Glaucusque, Phorcusque, et nudus membra Palemon
Indignas flevere neces: flevere profundis
Mœstæ Nereïdes, gemitusque dedêre sub antris.

Naumachica, l. ii. p. 34.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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